DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 270 043 HE 019 357

| | |
|---|---|
| AUTHOR | Sharp, Nancy W.; And Others |
| TITLE | Faculty Women in Journalism and Mass Communications: Problems and Progress. |
| SPONS AGENCY | Gannett Foundation, Rochester, NY. |
| PUB DATE | 85 |
| NOTE | 74p. |
| AVAILABLE FROM | Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, College of Journalism, 1621 College Street, University of South Carolina, Columbia, SC 29208-0251 ($2.00). |
| PUB TYPE | Reports - Research/Technical (143) |
| EDRS PRICE | MF01/PC03 Plus Postage. |
| DESCRIPTORS | Administrators; College Graduates; Doctoral Programs; Equal Opportunities (Jobs); *Females; *Graduate Students; Higher Education; *Job Satisfaction; *Journalism Education; Mass Media; Salaries; *Scholarship; Sex Discrimination; Student Attitudes; Student Characteristics; Teacher Characteristics; Teaching Conditions; *Women Faculty |
| IDENTIFIERS | Women Administrators |

ABSTRACT

Womens' progress in journalism and mass communications education programs was assessed in 1983 as a follow-up to a 1972 study. Objectives were to determine: the perceptions women have of communications education as a profession; the extent to which women are engaging in scholarly activities in the field; and how leaders in communications education react to perceptions of female communications educators and how they assess the field with respect to opportunities for women. A content analysis of scholarly journals in the communication field was undertaken, and statistics were collected on women in communications education as well as on employment, enrollments, and salaries in American higher education. Interviews were conducted with leaders in the field, and questionnaires were sent to 810 women serving as current faculty, current doctoral students, or doctoral graduates in the journalism and mass communications education field. Of these questionnaires, 199 were returned, for a response rate of 39%. In addition to identifying respondent characteristics, the questionnaire covered the progress and attitudes of female doctoral students, discrimination experienced by women students and faculty, the experiences of female administrators, salaries, teaching loads, promotion and tenure, recruitment of women faculty, and job satisfaction. (SW)

**********
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
**********

ED270043

# Faculty Women in Journalism And Mass Communications: Problems and Progress

**Nancy W. Sharp, Judy VanSlyke Turk, Edna F. Einsiedel, Linda Schamber, Sharon Hollenback**

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

The authors

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☑ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

**Published in Syracuse, N.Y.,
With a Grant
From the Gannett Foundation
1985**

HE 019 357

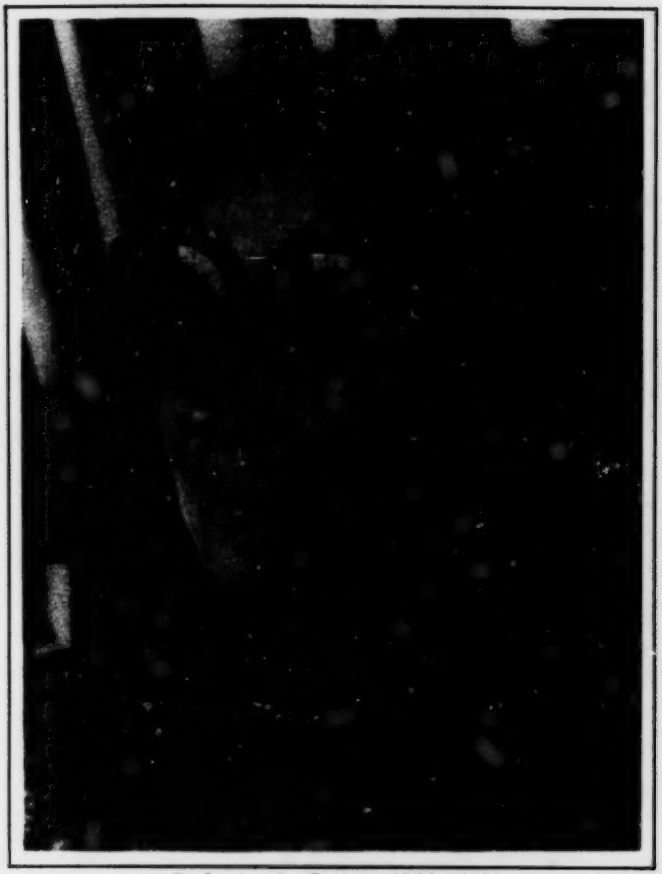
Library of Congress
Catalog Card Number: 85-80836

©Copyright by the Authors, 1985

Copies of this study are available from the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communications, College of Journalism, 1621 College St., University of South Carolina, Columbia, S.C., 29208-0251. Please send $2 to cover the costs of handling and mailing.

## Acknowledgements

The authors are greatly indebted to officials of the Gannett Foundation, who warmly encouraged the project and supported it with a generous grant. It was Gerald M. Sass, vice-president/education, who suggested that the project be dedicated to the late Catherine L. Covert, distinguished journalism educator and colleague of the authors. We would also like to express our appreciation to the Journalism Council for providing partial funding for the survey; and to Dean Edward C. Stephens of the S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications and Dr. Maxwell E. McCombs of the Communications Research Center of Syracuse University, for clerical, financial, and moral support. Thanks are due to Jim Barnes, Diane Best, Cindy Hyle, NamJun Kang, Lynne Manuel, Mary Patterson, and Shirley Smith for research and clerical assistance and to Professors Barbara Burnett, James Roger Sharp, and Margaret Thompson of Syracuse University for research help. Finally — and most importantly — we wish to express our gratitude to the numerous communications educators who expressed their interest in our study and who took the time to respond to our questionnaires and interview calls.



*Catherine L. Covert (1923-1983)*

# Dedication

This study is dedicated to Catherine L. Covert (1923-1983), an extraordinary journalist, historian, teacher, and scholar who, perhaps even more importantly, was also a sensitive, warm, and giving human being and friend. For the authors of this study, all colleagues of hers on the faculty of Syracuse University's S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications, Cathy was not only a dear friend but an inspiration. For the Gannett Foundation, which subsidized the publication of this study as a tribute to her, Cathy served as an active and respected member of the organization's influential Advisory Council from 1979 until her death on October 20, 1983, and annually participated as a speaker for the Journalism Workshop on Teaching Writing, Reporting, and Editing, funded by the foundation and sponsored by the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC).

The goal of this study, which is to analyze the progress women have made in communications education and any problems that still remain, is an appropriate one for a publication honoring Cathy. From the late 1960s to the early 1980s, she was in the vanguard of the effort to secure equal rights for women in communications education. As such,

she served as a national role model, according to MaryAnn Yodelis Smith, associate vice chancellor of academic affairs at the University of Wisconsin, Madison, and a professor in the School of Journalism and Mass Communication there.

The central role that Cathy played is easy to document. The first female full professor in communications at Syracuse University, she was the second woman ever to be nominated for the presidency of the Association for Education in Journalism (now the AEJMC) and one of the first two women ever to sit on the AEJMC executive committee. A member of Phi Beta Kappa and Kappa Tau Alpha honoraries, she served on the editorial advisory boards of both *Journalism Quarterly* and *Journalism History* and was a founding member of the *Syracuse Scholar* board of editors. She headed the AEJ History Division in 1972-73. Her appearances at conventions, her publications, and her guest lecturerships are too numerous to mention.

In 1983 Cathy was presented the Outstanding Achievement Award by the AEJMC Committee on the Status of Women. The citation, written by Marian Marzolf from the University of Michigan Department of Communication faculty, lauded Cathy's "substantial contributions to . . . the development of women academics in journalism and the mass media" as well as her contributions to "research in communications" and to "the craft of teaching journalism."

When, after her death, Cathy became the 38th person to be named to the Journalism and Mass Communication Hall of Fame at the University of Iowa, her alma mater, she was again cited as a leader among academic women. "Cathy's life demonstrated her commitment to equality for women," the Hall of Fame citation reads. "She worked with students on women's topics and initiated an informational network among professional and academic women. At Syracuse she served on the Women's Studies Advisory Committee and presented papers before its weekly seminar series, convinced that such articles would establish the irrelevance of gender in intellectual matters."

Although Cathy devoted an enormous share of her talents and energies to encouraging and inspiring other women educators and prospective educators, that is only one of the many achievements for which she is remembered.

Cathy was truly a Renaissance woman. As Richard Gray, the late director of the Indiana University School of Journalism and a past president of the AEJMC, put it, "Cathy Covert won respect because she was a good scholar and a good teacher, and it didn't make any difference whether she was a woman or a man. She earned respect on merit."

A graduate of the University of Iowa (B.A.) and Syracuse University (M.A. and Ph.D.), Cathy first worked as a journalist in the Midwest, where she had grown up as one of two daughters of a Presbyterian clergyman, the Rev. Brainard Covert, and his wife, Gladys. Cathy's first newspaper job was as a reporter for the Des Moines *Register* from 1945 to 1946, and this was followed by a five-year stint as public relations director for Coe College in Cedar Rapids during which she wrote a history of the institution.

In 1951 she came to Syracuse, where she worked as a science writer and editor for the Syracuse *Herald-Journal* until 1965. During her years at the *Herald* she won the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation Award for Distinguished Science Writing (1953), the Howard Blakeslee Award of the the American Heart Association (1954), the Empire State Medical Writing Award of the Medical Society of the State of New York and the New York State Health Department (1960), and Empire State Medical Writing Citation for Coverage of Special Interest in the Medical Writing Category. She also wrote an American Medical Association handbook on mental retardation and a history of Syracuse's Park Central Presbyterian Church and was active in local and national affairs. It was during her years at the *Herald* that she became the mother of a daughter (now Mrs. Carolyn Holmes) and a son (Frank Stepanek III).

Stephen Rogers, president of the Syracuse Newspapers, recalled Cathy's years at the *Herald*. "She was at her best,"

he said, "digging into the most complex matters, especially in the field of medicine and writing brilliantly and easily about them. . . . Cathy long was torn between the newsroom and the classroom and eventually chose to pursue a teaching career, which she did with great distinction."

As soon as Cathy joined the Syracuse University faculty in 1966 after her distinguished newspaper career, she began winning praise for her innovative teaching. A person who was always interested in and enthusiastic about new approaches to learning, Cathy was cited as an outstanding professor by the campus yearbook, the *Onondagan,* in 1977. The reporting of science was a teaching specialty, and she also developed a number of other special courses, including ones on the journalism of narcissism, on ethics in the mass media, on the reporting of energy issues, and the reporting of gerontology.

But perhaps the course that pleased Cathy the most was the media history course that she and Professor David Bennett of the Syracuse University Department of History reorganized. The compatible pair team-taught the unusual course from an intellectual history perspective, tracing the development of the media within the context of culture and society. Through lectures, discussions, and the viewing and studying of Hollywood films, popular attitudes toward the mass media were analyzed and related to 20th-century values and trends. One 1980 SU graduate, Rick Bonnell, described the course as "special." "It's not easy to get seniors excited about an experience," he said, "but Professors Covert and Bennett pulled it off beautifully."

Teaching the course with Cathy was a memorable experience for Professor Bennett. "Cathy Covert," he said, "was that unusual figure — often celebrated but rarely seen in academic life — the remarkably talented teacher who is also a serious, productive, and highly respected scholar.

"Like others I learned much from her papers and publications. But I knew her best as a teacher and was privileged to share instructional duties with her for several years in the history of the media in the United States course. I loved to watch her work in class. Teaching is both an art and craft. Cathy, like any true artist, was gifted. She was effortlessly articulate, and she had a poise and presence before classroom groups both large and small. But she also worked at the craft. Her preparation was meticulous; she never relied on the yellowed notes of yesterday.

"Like most people who are good at what they do, she believed in her own talent. But she was also strikingly modest, an empathetic, generous human being. This made it a pleasure to work with her and it made her a warm and humane teacher — someone who repected her students and was respected by them, someone who got the very best from her classes."

Susan Henry, a professor in the Department of Journalism at California State University at Northridge who wrote her dissertation at Syracuse under Cathy's guidance, also mentioned how Cathy was able to inspire her students. "Cathy's greatness as a teacher and friend," according to Professor Henry, "was that she consistently treated us as if we were special and, as a result, we became better than we ever imagined possible. So much of what I and many of her other students now are is either because of her or modeled after her that she lives on in constantly multiplying ways. We are the honored evidence of her generosity and power."

Everette E. Dennis, executive director of the newly established Gannett Center for Media Studies and the former dean of the School of Journalism at the University of Oregon, said he also owed much to Cathy. In fact, it was Cathy, he said, who first stimulated his interest in scholarship in journalism education. That was when he was a graduate student at Syracuse University and an admirer of her gift for teaching, which, he said, combined "an elegant style of presentation with a deep intellectual integrity."

From then until her death, explained Dennis, the 1983-84 president of the AEJMC, there was a "real continuity to

our relationship. She and I would discuss ideas, exchange papers, and talk at conventions. We never had to start over. I knew where her ideas were coming from and she knew where my ideas were coming from. She had real insights into the field of communications."

At Syracuse University Cathy also is remembered as a hard-working and respected member of the university community. "The qualities that she brought to the classroom and to her research made her a much-desired participant in university life," according to Professor Bennett. "Those of us who served on committees with her," he said, "knew she was an important figure in Syracuse University's governance. She won her authority not because she was aggressive and impassioned but because she was wise, thoughtful, and sensitive." Michael Barkun, a professor in the Syracuse University Department of Political Science, agreed. "The dullest committee meeting would suddenly come alive if Cathy were there," he said.

But Cathy had an impact that reached far beyond the Syracuse campus. An active member of the journalism education field, Cathy was a productive, active scholar whose original, inquiring mind was especially happy charting new courses of thought, new approaches to learning, new methodologies. She kept on working almost to the time of her death on her last work, a book entitled *Mass Media Between the Wars: Perceptions of Cultural Tension, 1918-1941*, which she co-edited with her good friend, John D. Stevens, chairman of the Department of Communication at the University of Michigan. This followed the 1980 book, *Teaching Ethics in Journalism Education*, that she and Clifford G. Christians wrote for the Institute of Society, Ethics, and the Life Sciences, Hastings-on-Hudson, N.Y.

"Although Syracuse University alumni probably remember Cathy Covert as a distinguished teacher," according to Vice Chancellor Yodelis Smith, "many of us were also well acquainted with other aspects of her professional life: her highly regarded scholarship in communications history and her national leadership in journalism education. Her very presence converted the annual AEJMC meeting into a special time of renewing not only the bonds of scholarship but those of friendship.

"Cathy's own research on Freud and the news media, for example, was innovative, solid, and beautifully written. But her contributions extended far beyond those publications. As head of the history division in the AEJMC, she bestirred all of us to become better teachers and scholars. Indeed, Cathy gave impetus to the intellectual history movement in communications education. She had the vision to assess where communications historians ought to be going and the wisdom and good judgment to give them direction."

Cathy's contribution to journalism history was likened to that of a "guiding spirit" by James Boylan, the director of the Journalism Studies Program at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst, and a former editor of the *Columbia Journalism Review*. "She worked tirelessly to raise our intellectual sights," he said. "She unfailingly encouraged our scholarly enterprises and she opened our windows to half a dozen other disciplines. In short, she left each of us better than she found us."

James W. Carey, dean of the College of Communication at the University of Illinois, recalled his April 1983 participation in the "Culture and Technology of the Mass Media: Historical Perspectives" conference organized by Cathy for the Northeastern History Division of the AEJMC. Cathy could not attend the conference at Syracuse University due to her illness. Carey both opened and closed his presentation then with a quote from American critic Kenneth Burke. "'Life is a conversation,'" Carey said, quoting Burke. "'When we enter, it is already underway. We try to catch the drift of it. We exit before it's over.'" Carey explained that he had read those lines "in the presence of Cathy's absence, at the conference she had organized and inspired, to which people had come in anticipation of seeing her." "We had come," he explained, "to enhance her project: to

press the social sciences into the service of history and, with more recalcitrance, to press history into the social sciences. We had come most of all because hers was a distinctive voice in the conversation of our culture, distinctive in its warmth and generosity, distinctive in its talent for friendship. We will continue to talk—what else can we do? It just won't be the same."

"Imaginative and pioneering" is the way Sally Gregory Kohlstedt, a professor of history at Syracuse University, described Cathy's studies in journalism history. "Her work teased out the way in which journalists' discussions caught the trivial and serious concerns of an age and articulated them in ways that were predicted by personal choices, social norms, and economic imperatives. In various essays ranging over the course of American history she demonstrated how the press reflected and influenced public thinking. Cathy's Syracuse University dissertation, for example, 'Freud on the Front Page: Transmission of Freudian Ideas in the American Newspapers in the 1920s,' used the sensational Leopold-Loeb murder trial to trace the way in which the media not only disseminated but also shaped fundamental ideas of psychoanalysis into popular idiom."

Professor Barkun called himself a great admirer of Cathy's "extraordinary quality of mind." "In a time when specialists dominate," he said, "Cathy always seemed to know how to break out of the confines of professional and disciplinary mind-sets. Not long ago I read a paper of hers, and I must say I enjoyed reading the footnotes as much as the text. Her range of knowledge was extraordinary, extending into both the humanities and the social sciences, and — more than that — she didn't read simply the standard works. Talking with her or reading her work, one always knew one would come upon some esoteric and piquant book or article, not the sort of hackneyed item graduate students put on their reading lists, but something out of the ordinary that could shine new light on old questions. I wish I knew how she found them. Be that as it may, her splendidly wide-ranging citations were never there to display erudition but always functioned to draw connections between apparently disparate facts and ideas. And in the end, I think it was this ability to reach out beyond one's immediate academic turf that made her approach to problems so special, and that defines the measure of our loss."

It was this playful quality of Cathy's lively, inquiring, and original mind — the fascination and delight she showed toward the complexity and interplay of ideas — that many of her close friends cherished.

André Fontaine, professor emeritus from Syracuse University and a close friend of Cathy's, recalled that she had once read a book on lateral thinking, and he had considered it a waste of time.. "She already," he said, "had one of the most flexible, far-ranging, imaginative minds that, as a matter of practice, reached out into other theses, other fields, and brought back patterns of thought with unexpected and usually delightful insights. Her mind had not only breadth, but depth, so that she customarily brought up from whatever levels elegant new concepts that heightened understanding.

"Almost always these new approaches were positive and were offered with enthusiasm. New knowledge, new patterns of thought excited her, and the excitement communicated itself instantly. She knew that learning was one of the ecstasies of life and this joy brightened the darknesses that assailed her, as those, or different ones, bedevil us all."

Perhaps the Rev. Benjamin Lake of the First Presbyterian Church of Cazenovia, N.Y., which Cathy attended, and Professor Barkun best summed up the impact Cathy had on those around her. "Catherine had what the French call presence," the Rev. Mr. Lake said. "When she entered the room the atmosphere became charged with excitement and brightness. You knew she was there and you felt better for it."

"She lit this place up," Professor Barkun said.

**— Nancy Weatherly Sharp**

## Contents

I. Introduction ..... 1
II. Statistical and Political Overview ..... 3
III. 1983 Survey:
Women's Perceptions of the Field of Communications Education ..... 15
IV. Content Analysis:
Women's Participation in Scholarly Activities ..... 29
V. Interviews:
Opinions of Communications Educators ..... 33
VI. Conclusions and Recommendations ..... 61

# I. Introduction

## Background

In 1972, a paper outlining the status of women in American journalism education was presented to the Division of Minorities and Communications at the annual convention of the Association for Education in Journalism (now Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, or AEJMC). The paper, "More Than You Ever Wanted to Know About Women in Communication Education," was the result of research undertaken and reported by Ramona R. Rush, Carol E. Oukrop, and Sandra W. Ernst, all at that time with the Department of Journalism and Mass Communications at Kansas State University.[1]

That paper came about for at least two reasons — curiosity and concern. In their foreward the authors stated that "no one seems to know how many 'qualified' women there are in the potential pool for journalism education." There was reason for concern, they said, because "if the women exist, they are seldom visible at AEJ conventions, on the pages of *Journalism Quarterly*, in the university classrooms, or in administrative positions in schools and departments."

In an attempt to survey women in the field, a questionnaire was sent to 101 female Ph.D.s and doctoral students in journalism education whose identities had been culled from the membership rolls of the AEJ and from directories of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism. A total of 74 women responded.

Based on their findings, the authors made several recommendations:

— that more study be undertaken in an attempt to verify the belief shared by a large majority of participants in the study that discrimination was being practiced against women in journalism education, specifically in areas of salary and promotion.

— that recruitment procedures be strengthened to bring women into doctoral programs and to keep female Ph.D. graduates in the field of journalism education.

— that the AEJ appoint a Committee on the Status of Women in Journalism to determine whether or not gender inequities existed and, if so, when and where. That committee, of course, was formed and continues to be active within the AEJMC and to serve as a liaison with other organizations of communications specialists.

In the years since the first study, much has changed. The number of women has increased in both the faculty ranks and student bodies of journalism and mass communications education programs. The number and percentage of women who are members of the AEJMC have increased, and women are more visible in the organization's leadership positions. Two women have served terms as president of the organization.

## The Current Study

This current study, then, was undertaken as a follow-up to the 1972 survey. One objective was to determine how women were currently perceiving communications education as a profession and in what ways current perceptions were different from those expressed in the earlier survey. There was an interest

[1]Ramona R. Rush, Carol E. Oukrop, and Sandra W. Ernst, "More Than You Ever Wanted To Know About Women and Journalism Education," a paper presented before the Division of Minorities and Communications at the convention of the Association for Education in Journalism, Carbondale, Ill., August, 1972.

in pinpointing the progress that female communications educators or prospective educators saw as having been made as well as the problems they saw as yet remaining to be addressed. Another objective was to document the extent to which women were engaging in scholarly activities in the field. A final objective, a more qualitative one, was to find out how leaders in communications education reacted to the perceptions of the female communications educators and how they assessed the field with respect to opportunities for women.

These objectives were accomplished by administering and analyzing a survey, by doing a content analysis of scholarly journals in the communications field, and by conducting telephone and personal interviews with leaders in the communications education field. In addition, in an introductory section, statistical information pertinent to women in communications education on the college level was gathered to provide background information so that the other parts of the study could be put into perspective.

Although it is possible that a few women from other countries responded to the survey, this is basically a study of the communications field in the United States.

# II. Statistical and Political Overview

## Objectives

To put the findings of the survey, content analysis, and interviews into perspective, the most recent figures on employment, enrollments, and salaries in American higher education were gathered. Also, recent important political occurrences in the country that might have had or might in the future have a bearing on the role of women in communications in higher education were surveyed. Because the sources varied widely, the statistics often cannot be used as equal bases for comparison but are useful to indicate general relationships and trends.

## Statistics

**COMPOSITION OF FACULTIES:** First, while the number of women on journalism and mass communications faculties greatly increased between 1972 and 1983, women in 1983 still comprised less than a sixth of these faculties. The proportion of faculty women in journalism reported in the 1972 survey was 7% to 8%,[2] compared to 17% in communications reported in the "1983-84 Faculty/Administrator Demographic Survey" conducted by Leonard W. Lanfranco and Elnora W. Stuart for the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication (ASJMC).[3]

More than half (56%) of these faculty women in 1983 were instructors or held ranks other than professor, associate professor, or assistant professor. Most of the rest (27%) were at the assistant professor level, with 13% at the associate professor rank and only 4% at the full professor rank, as shown in Figure 1. The distribution of women within faculty ranks shifted appreciably from 1972 to 1983. Figure 1 reveals that the greatest proportional growth in full-time ranks — 13% — occurred at the rank of assistant professor. Even greater growth occurred in the catchall category that included lecturers and part-time and visiting faculty. The proportions of women at professor, associate professor, and instructor ranks decreased.

In comparison with men, women represented 4% of all full professors in the field in 1983, as well as 14% of associate professors, 26% of assistant professors, 28% of instructors, and 25% of other ranks and titles. Figure 2 compares the numbers of male and female faculty at various ranks.[4]

A head count of those listed in the 1983 AEJMC *Journalism Directory* also revealed approximately 33 women among the administrators of 319 American programs.[5] In the 1972 AEJ directory — in which 172 programs were listed — one

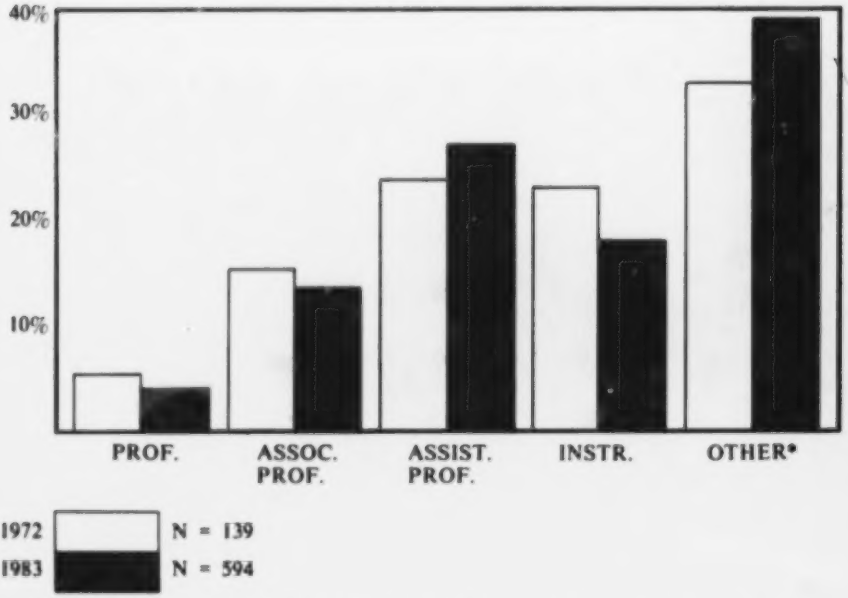
[2] Ibid. The percentage was based on 1968-69 (67 women) and 1971-72 (73 women) faculty directories of the American Association of Schools and Departments of Journalism (AASDJ). All men and women were counted regardless of rank or appointment status. We made a head count of names listed in the 1972 AEJ journalism faculty directory that bore out these figures with a percentage of slightly more than 7%, or 139, faculty women.

[3] ASJMC data included 230 women. Data on the survey came from administrators at 74 of the 170 accredited and non-accredited communications programs that were mailed questionnaires. We also made a head count of female faculty members at all ranks as listed in the 1983 AEJMC *Journalism Directory*. It revealed about 19% (594) women.

[4] Based on a count of names listed in the 1983 AEJMC *Journalism Directory*.

[5] The gender of some administrators could not be determined by first name, e.g., when first initials were used.

**Figure 1**
**Distribution of Female Communications Faculty**
**By Rank in 1972 and 1983**




*"Other" includes part-time and visiting faculty, lecturers, adjuncts, and those with special titles. Emeritus faculty and those whose gender could not be determined by first name were excluded.

Based on head counts of the 1972 American Association for Education in Journalism (AEJ) and the 1983 American Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC) faculty directories.

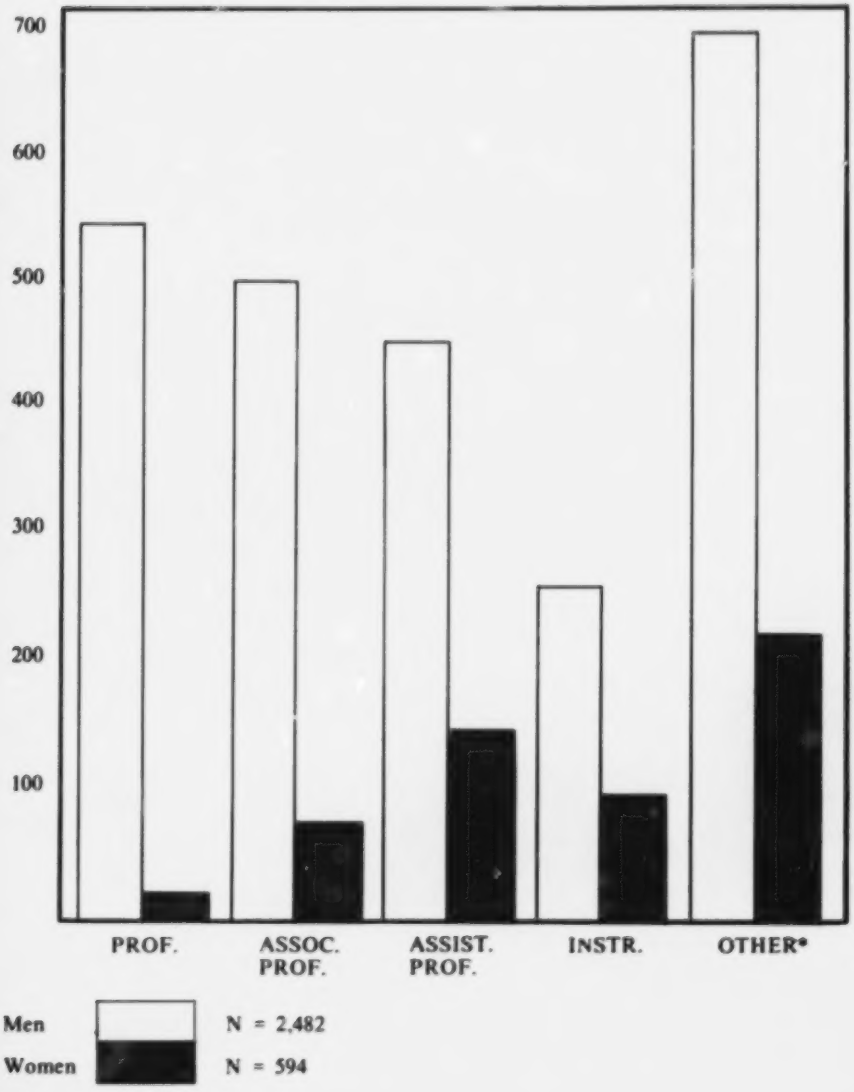
woman appeared as acting head of a small program.

**FACULTY SALARIES:** Average salaries for academic women in the communications field were lower than those of their male colleagues at every rank and in all categories of faculty and school characteristics, according to the ASJMC 1983-84 survey of 1,336 faculty and administrators in the field. Table 1, based on ASJMC figures, shows that the greatest disparity, an average of $2,204 a year, occurred at the rank of full professor, followed closely by a disparity of $2,199 at the rank of instructor. Salaries at the assistant professor level were closest, with women being paid an average of $455 less than men.[6]

As a group, women did in 1983-84 have lower levels of experience and education than men, according to the ASJMC report. According to the report, only 38% of female faculty held doctoral degrees, versus 50% of the males. In addition, 72% of the women had 10 or fewer years of teaching experience versus only 49% of the men, and 81% of the women had 10 or fewer years of professional experience versus 65% of the men. "Thus, while there may be some evidence of lower salaries paid to women," the report said, "it is also suggested by the data that women in general have lower

[6]Lanfranco and Stuart, "1983-84 Survey," 21.

**Figure 2**
**Numbers of Male and Female Communications Faculty Members By Rank in 1983**




*"Other" includes part-time and visiting faculty, lecturers, adjuncts, and those with special titles. Emeritus faculty and those whose gender could not be determined by first name were excluded.

Based on a head count of the 1983 faculty directory of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication (AEJMC).

**Table 1**
**Average Salaries in Dollars of Male and Female Communications Faculty By Rank and Qualifications In 1983-84**

| | | Male | Female | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Rank** | Professor | 35,844 (290)* | 33,640 (14) | 2,204 (276) |
| | Assoc. Prof. | 27,882 (335) | 26,886 (57) | 996 (278) |
| | Asst. Prof. | 22,815 (277) | 22,360 (111) | 455 (166) |
| | Instructor | 19,948 (109) | 17,749 (44) | 2,199 (65) |
| **Highest Degree Earned** | Doctorate | 30,297 (483) | 25,681 (83) | 4,616 (400) |
| | Master's | 25,458 (399) | 21,700 (126) | 3,558 (273) |
| | Bachelor's | 25,956 (76) | 21,105 (12) | 4,851 (64) |
| **Years Teaching Experience** | 21 or more | 34,866 (142) | 27,399 (14) | 7,467 (128) |
| | 16-20 | 30,533 (133) | 27,547 (18) | 2,986 (115) |
| | 11-15 | 29,305 (198) | 25,990 (28) | 3,315 (170) |
| | 6-10 | 26,033 (214) | 23,556 (64) | 2,477 (150) |
| | 1-5 | 23,078 (215) | 20,627 (79) | 2,451 (150) |
| | Less than 1 | 19,445 (23) | 18,251 (8) | 1,194 (15) |
| **Years Professional Experience** | 21 or more | 28,065 (116) | 24,946 (7) | 3,119 (109) |
| | 16-20 | 28,512 (81) | 23,920 (8) | 4,592 (73) |
| | 11-15 | 28,146 (119) | 24,255 (23) | 3,891 (96) |
| | 6-10 | 27,738 (240) | 22,481 (55) | 5,257 (185) |
| | 1-5 | 27,124 (289) | 23,155 (92) | 3,969 (197) |
| | Less than 1 | 29,530 (48) | 24,378 (15) | 5,152 (33) |

*All salaries weighted up/down to 9 months. Frequencies in parentheses.

Adapted from Table 8, in the "1983-84 Faculty/Administrator Demographic Survey" compiled by Leonard W. Lanfranco and Elnora W. Stuart for the Association of Schools of Journalism and Mass Communication (ASJMC).

levels of experience and education."[7] However, since women were clustered at the lower ranks in 1983-84, it would only be expected that as a group they would have lower levels of education and experience.

When faculty men and women were compared in the ASJMC report by levels of education, teaching experience, and professional experience, the result was more telling as shown in Table 1. These data suggest that discrimination very well could be an explanation or at least a partial explanation for the 1983-84 differences in men's and women's salaries. Men outearned women in all categories. For instance, the men for whom the highest degree earned was a master's degree made an average of $25,458 a year, while equivalent female faculty had average salaries of $21,700; the men with six to 10 years of teaching experience earned an average of $26,033, as compared to the women in the same category who averaged $23,556; and men with one to five years of professional experience were paid an average of $27,124, while the equivalent women earned $23,155. Extremes appear in years of teaching experience: women with the most experience were paid an average of $7,467 less than men — and those with the least experience were paid $1,194 less.[8]

Whether or not discrimination has been a factor in salaries in the field of communications education, discrimination has been found to have contributed to the discrepancies between men's and women's salaries in the American work force as a whole. An analysis made by Gordon Green, senior official of the U.S. Department of the Census, compared

[7]Ibid., 7, 8.
[8]Ibid. The 1983-84 ASJMC report was the first of its kind to do a gender breakdown on salary.

wages of white and black men and women. His study, released in 1984, sought to measure the effects, if any, of discrimination through a complex series of equations with the objective of determining how much of the earnings gap could be explained by differences in education, residence, occupation, and experience. Among other things, Green found that discrimination did account for as much as 17% of the disparity in wages between white men and white women who entered the American labor force in 1980. Green also concluded that discrimination in salary between men and women may actually be higher in the 1980s than it was in the 1970s.[9]

Furthermore, a landmark study done by the federal Equal Opportunity Commission for the National Academy of Sciences, published in 1981, concluded that "only a small part of the earnings differences between men and women can be accounted for by differences in education, labor force experience, labor force commitment, or other human capital factors believed to contribute to productivity differences among workers." The report went on to say, "Job segregation by sex is quite pronounced and shows few signs of substantially diminishing."[10]

**COMPOSITION OF STUDENT BODIES:** Any examination of the status of educators is incomplete without a look at student populations. Thanks to the work of Paul V. Peterson at Ohio State University, a relatively consistent national database exists on student enrollments in journalism and communications programs. This database shows that at the time of this study, while women were still in a distinct minority on collegiate communications faculties, they constituted the majority of students in the communications field and had done so since 1977.

According to Peterson's statistical summaries, published annually in the AEJMC *Journalism Educator*, the percentage of female communications students has increased substantially since 1972. The growth was gradual at first, from 39% women in 1972 to 43% in 1976. In 1977, however, women became the majority for the first time with a proportion of 50.6% of journalism school enrollments. The trend continued to a high of 59% women — almost three-fifths — in 1982, 58% in 1983, and 59% in 1984.[11]

The percentage increase of women among doctoral students in communications — the most likely potential candidates for communications faculty positions — was in itself considerable, from 27% in 1974 to 40% in 1983. At master's and doctoral levels combined, the proportions of female students increased from 34% in 1972 to 49% in 1983. Incidentally, larger-than-average proportions of female-to-male communications students developed among minority students. In 1983 the highest percentage of women — 84% — could be found among black students at the master's level. The percentage of women among all minority students was 63%.[12]

Interestingly, the surge in percentages of female communications students that marked the second half of the 1970s paralleled a distinct drop in the growth of communications student populations in general. During the first half of the 1970s, combined male/female enrollments grew dramatically, with a peak 16.5% annual increase in 1975. Since 1976, overall student populations have remained

[9]New York *Times*, Jan. 16, 1984, 1.

[10]Ibid; D.S. Treiman and H.I. Hartmann, *Women, Work and Wages: Equal Pay for Jobs of Equal Value* (Washington, D.C., 1981), 41-2.

[11]See articles by Paul V. Peterson in *Journalism Educator*: "Journalism Enrollment Levels Off; Growth Rate Declines Sharply" (January, 1977), 8; "Journalism Schools Report Record 65,962 Enrollment" (January, 1978), 8; "Survey Indicates No Change in '83 Journalism Enrollment" (Spring, 1984), 3; "1984 Survey: No Change in Mass Comm Enrollments" (Spring, 1985), 3.

[12]See articles by Peterson in *Journalism Educator*: "55,000 Mark Surpassed" (January, 1975), 4, and "No Change in Journalism Enrollment" (Spring, 1984), 4, 10. Some figures are from unpublished surveys of graduate students taken by Peterson. The first year that a breakdown of Ph.D. students by gender was available was 1974. Earlier all graduate students were lumped together.

relatively stable.[13]

Also evident in figures for 1982 and 1983 was a decline of roughly 12% in enrollment of freshmen and sophomores in communications[14] which could be linked to a projected decline of 10% in full-time college enrollments in all fields during the coming decade.[15] This trend could also mean a 15% decline in the demand for college and university professors from 1982 through 1995, based on U.S. Bureau of Labor statistics. On a list of the 20 most rapidly contracting occupations, college teaching was in ninth place and graduate assistantships in 13th.[16]

These declines might not affect communications as much as other disciplines, however, in view of a heightened interest by students in occupationally oriented fields, and of a rise in the average age of students, with increasing numbers over the age of 25 returning to college.[17] Perhaps the return of older persons to communications education in particular has been reflected by an increase of 24% in doctoral enrollments from 1982 to 1983.[18]

**COMPARISON WITH OTHER FIELDS:** The imbalance in the proportions of female faculty to female students relative to their respective populations in the communications field can be put into perspective by comparing communications with other disciplines in American colleges and universities.

An analysis of employment patterns and earned degrees by gender in the early 1980s shows that the imbalance in the field of communications was considerably greater than that in most other disciplines. Looking at all the disciplines, women constituted 24% of the full-time faculty (1982-83) and represented a fraction less than 50% of the students earning bachelor's, master's, and doctoral degrees (1981-82). The disparity was more striking in the field of communications where women made up an estimated 17% of faculties (1984) and 56% of those earning degrees (1981-82).

Although recent enrollment figures show women outnumbering men in terms of national college enrollments, men did edge out women with regard to total degrees earned in all disciplines in the most recent year for which data were available, 1981-82. That year a total of 641,000 degrees were awarded to men and 640,131 degrees were awarded to women. It was only at the doctoral level, however, that males were predominant. In 1981-82 women earned about half of the bachelor's (50.3%) and master's (50.8%) degrees, nearly a third of the doctorates (32.1%), and more than a fourth of the first professional degrees. These percentages, which show considerable increases since 1970-71, were projected to increase still further through 1992-93.[19] See Table 2.

[13]See articles by Peterson in *Journalism Educator:* "Journalism Enrollment Levels Off" (January, 1977), 3; "Journalism Schools Report Record Enrollment" (January, 1978), 3; "No Change" (Spring, 1984), 3.

[14]Peterson, "No Change," 4, 5.

[15]Valena White Plisko, ed., *The Condition of Education: A Statistical Report*, 1984 edition, published by the National Center for Education Statistics for the Office of Educational Research and Development, U.S. Department of Education, Washington, D.C., 61.

[16]Jean Evangelauf, "U.S. Forecasts a 15-Pct. Decline in Number of College Teachers," *Chronicle of Higher Education* (Jan. 18, 1984), 20.

[17]W. Vance Grant and Thomas D. Snyder, *Digest of Education Statistics 1983-84* (National Center for Education Statistics, Washington, D.C., 1984), 1, 2, 98, 118.

[18]Peterson, "No Change," 4, 5.

[19]This analysis of enrollments and degrees is based on statistics collected and tabulated by the National Center for Education Statistics of the U.S. Department of Education. See the 1984 edition of the center's *The Condition of Education*, 61-97. These data show that in terms of total enrollments in institutions of higher education in the United States women have outnumbered men since 1979. However, these enrollment figures may be less useful than the earned degree figures cited in the text as they include part-time students and also students at two-year colleges. The enrollment statistics may, however, be more reliable in indicating what the situation is now, as earned degrees represent largely the situation as it was in the past.

**Table 2**
**Percentage of Earned Degrees Awarded to Women**
**By American Institutions of Higher Education**
**In 1970-71 and 1981-82**

| Discipline Division | Bachelor's | | Master's | | Doctor's | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | 1970-71 | 1981-82 | 1970-71 | 1981-82 | 1970-71 | 1981-82 |
| Total | 43.4 | 50.3 | 40.1 | 50.8 | 14.3 | 32.1 |
| Agribusiness and agricultural production | 1.6 | 20.2 | 3.7 | 19.1 | 1.6 | 11.4 |
| Agricultural sciences | 6.2 | 36.8 | 7.5 | 28.0 | 3.8 | 15.6 |
| Renewable natural resources | 2.1 | 28.0 | 2.9 | 23.4 | 0 | 12.4 |
| Architecture and environmental design | 11.9 | 29.8 | 13.8 | 32.6 | 8.3 | 27.5 |
| Area and ethnic studies | 52.4 | 63.9 | 38.3 | 49.3 | 16.7 | 43.1 |
| Business and management | 8.1 | 39.0 | 3.9 | 27.8 | 2.9 | 17.7 |
| Business and office | 97.4 | 95.9 | — | 50.0 | — | — |
| Communications | 35.5 | 57.0 | 34.6 | 53.3 | 13.1 | 31.9 |
| Communications technologies | 31.0 | 45.9 | 34.9 | 42.6 | 0 | 33.3 |
| Computer and information sciences | 13.6 | 34.8 | 10.3 | 26.5 | 2.3 | 8.4 |
| Education | 74.5 | 75.9 | 56.2 | 72.3 | 21.2 | 48.6 |
| Engineering | .8 | 12.3 | 1.1 | 9.0 | .6 | 5.3 |
| Engineering and engineering-related technologies | .8 | 6.7 | 0 | 13.3 | 0 | 13.3 |
| Foreign languages | 74.6 | 75.7 | 65.5 | 69.7 | 38.0 | 54.9 |
| Allied health | 85.3 | 86.2 | 70.3 | 78.1 | 0 | 25.0 |
| Health sciences | 76.2 | 83.9 | 55.4 | 75.8 | 16.7 | 45.3 |
| Home economics | 98.4 | 95.8 | 94.2 | 91.4 | 60.3 | 70.4 |
| Vocational home economics | 62.6 | 51.9 | 81.2 | 93.3 | 100.0 | — |
| Law | 5.0 | 50.8 | 4.8 | 20.2 | 0 | 9.1 |
| Letters | 65.5 | 65.7 | 60.3 | 64.9 | 28.0 | 52.2 |
| Liberal/general studies | 29.0 | 55.9 | 44.3 | 61.1 | 27.3 | 42.9 |
| Library and archival sciences | 92.0 | 86.0 | 81.3 | 82.3 | 28.2 | 63.1 |
| Life sciences | 29.1 | 45.4 | 33.6 | 41.7 | 16.3 | 29.1 |
| Mathematics | 38.0 | 43.2 | 29.2 | 33.2 | 7.8 | 13.8 |
| Military sciences | .3 | 7.4 | 0 | 2.0 | — | — |
| Multi/interdisciplinary studies | 28.4 | 48.2 | 30.9 | 37.8 | 13.8 | 38.0 |
| Parks and recreation | 34.7 | 62.4 | 29.8 | 47.5 | 50.0 | 21.2 |
| Philosophy and religion | 24.8 | 33.3 | 32.3 | 40.3 | 7.9 | 21.2 |
| Theology | 27.2 | 25.6 | 24.4 | 34.8 | 1.9 | 8.0 |
| Physical sciences | 13.8 | 25.7 | 13.3 | 21.7 | 5.6 | 13.7 |
| Psychology | 44.5 | 66.8 | 37.2 | 58.8 | 24.0 | 45.4 |
| Protective services | 9.2 | 38.2 | 10.3 | 27.1 | 0 | 41.7 |
| Public affairs | 60.2 | 69.4 | 49.2 | 59.8 | 23.8 | 46.0 |
| Social sciences | 36.8 | 44.6 | 28.5 | 37.7 | 13.9 | 26.9 |
| Visual and performing arts | 59.7 | 63.3 | 47.4 | 55.8 | 22.2 | 43.3 |

— Not applicable

NOTE: Caution should be exercised in comparing 1971 and 1982 figures when actual number of degrees conferred in specialty is small.

Based on statistics collected and compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education. See the 1984 edition of the center's *The Condition of Education*, 61-97.

These gains in female participation in American higher education can be attributed to the small numbers of women involved in higher education in earlier years and the declining numbers of male college students since the early to mid-1970s. In fact, fewer men earned bachelor's degrees in 1981-82 than in 1970-71, and the number of men earning master's degrees dropped steadily from 1976-77 to 1981-82.[20]

While communications student bodies in the early 1980s were more heavily dominated by women on the average than student bodies in other disciplines, communications faculties had lower average percentages of women than the faculties in the other disciplines. Across all disciplines women made up a total of 10% of those teaching at the full professor rank in 1982, 20% of those at the associate professor rank, 37% of those at the assistant professor rank, 52% of those at the instructor rank, 47% of those at the lecturer rank, and 33% of those teaching without established ranks. Private institutions had a slightly higher percentage of women on their faculties (26%) than public institutions (24%).[21] See Figure 2 and Table 3.

In terms of salary, the indication is that women in communications education fared better in the early 1980s than collegiate women educators in general in the degree to which their salaries were different from those of male peers. The average differences between men's and women's salaries in all the disciplines (1982-83) were greater at all ranks than they were in communications (1983-84) with the exception of the instructor level. Men outearned women in all the disciplines with average salaries that were $3,640 a year more at the full professor level, $1,478 at the associate professor level, $1,539 at the assistant professor level, $1,038 at the instructor level, and $2,411 at the lecturer level. The average

**Table 3**
**Percentage of Male and Female Faculty**
**By Rank in All Disciplines**
**In American Institutions of Higher Education, 1982-83**

| Rank | Male Faculty | Female Faculty |
|---|---|---|
| All ranks combined | 76% | 24% |
| All ranks combined, private schools | 74% | 26% |
| All ranks combined, public schools | 77% | 23% |
| Full Professor | 90% | 10% |
| Associate Professor | 80% | 20% |
| Assistant Professor | 63% | 37% |
| Instructor | 48% | 52% |
| Lecturer | 53% | 47% |
| No established academic rank | 67% | 33% |

Based on unpublished statistics furnished by the National Center for Education Statistics of the U.S. Department of Education. Statistics for two-year colleges were subtracted from the totals as they were deemed not comparable to the communications figures.

[20]Plisko, *Condition of Education*, 88, 94.

[21]These unpublished statistics were furnished by the National Center for Education Statistics, U.S. Department of Education. Statistics from two-year colleges were subtracted from the totals as they were deemed not comparable to the communications figures.

**Table 4**
**Average Male and Female Salaries in All Disciplines by Rank In American Institutions of Higher Education, 1982-83**

| Rank | Male | N | Female | N | Difference |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| All ranks combined | $29,240 | 199,024 | $23,139 | 63,853 | $6,101 |
| Full Professor | $36,261 | 79,152 | $32,621 | 8,990 | $3,640 |
| Associate Professor | $27,256 | 60,388 | $25,778 | 16,134 | $1,478 |
| Assistant Professor | $22,604 | 46,549 | $21,065 | 25,782 | $1,539 |
| Instructor | $17,990 | 8,463 | $16,952 | 9,533 | $1,038 |
| Lecturer | $21,261 | 2,763 | $18,850 | 2,497 | $2,411 |
| No established rank | $20,440 | 1,709 | $18,102 | 917 | $2,338 |

Based on data compiled by the National Center for Education Statistics of the U.S. Department of Education. Only faculty on 9-month contracts are included. Statistics for two-year colleges were subtracted from the totals as they were deemed not comparable to the communications figures.

salary of men without established ranks was $2,338 a year higher than that of women without established ranks.[22] See Table 1 and Table 4.

## Political Climate[23]

While women made up increasing proportions of college enrollments and graduating classes and while substantial numbers of women entered the job market between the 1972 survey and this study on women in communications education, questions were arising in the early 1980s about whether the national political climate was becoming less hospitable to those in the forefront of the women's rights movement.

In the early 1970s, when the controversial term "Ms." was just coming into use, the women's movement was attracting widespread attention and increasing support. A major goal of many feminists then was to redress grievances through the political process. In many instances the feminists succeeded. In 1972 the Equal Rights Amendment was launched. Although it would not win ratification, several major pieces of legislation were passed in 1972 to eliminate discrimination against women in employment and in college admissions and to instigate affirmative action policies in hiring. Notable among these were Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibited sexual discrimination in all federally assisted programs and activities; the Equal Opportunity Act of 1972, which amended Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 to cover employment in educational institutions; and the extension of the Equal Pay Act of 1963 to cover executive, administrative, and professional employees, including faculty members.

[22]These figures supplied by the National Center for Education Statistics of the U.S. Department of Education represent average salaries of full-time instructional faculty on 9-month contracts in American institutional units of higher education. No data on two-year institutions are included.

[23]For information about political and legal issues relating to women, see Treiman and Hartmann, *Women, Work and Wages;* Barbara A. Burnett, consulting editor, *Every Woman's Legal Guide* (New York, 1983); and Susan Deller Rose and Ann Barcher, *The Rights of Women* (New York, 1983).

In 1974 the Women's National Equity Act was passed to fund activities and promote fair treatment of women at all levels of education. During the mid-1970s, sexual harassment on the job began to be identified and considered in litigation at about the time that a number of major surveys showed it to be a problem. Also during the mid-1970s, a number of women ran for and were elected to public office.

In the 1980s, however, despite the appointment in 1981 of Sandra Day O'Connor as the first female justice of the U.S. Supreme Court and the choice in 1984 of the first woman, Geraldine Ferraro, to run for vice president of the United States on a major political party ticket, there was evidence of a slowdown of women's progress and of a less politically active, more conservative climate. Opponents had been able to prevent ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment. The anti-discrimination laws passed in the 1970s were found to contain gaps in their coverage. Enforcement was spotty, and a relative lack of litigation in general had failed to shape an adequate definition of illegal sexual discrimination in the workplace.

Title IX, the most far-reaching education law, was found to contain loopholes for discrimination by some schools, school organizations, athletics boards, academic housing units, scholarships, and textbooks. When it was passed, several institutions fought successfully to retain discriminatory rights, as in sports programs. The enforcement agency, HEW, took three years to write regulations to implement the law, then processed very few complaints and dismissed many others. (The Department of Education, when it was assigned Title IX responsibilities in 1980, was required to acknowledge complaints within 15 days.) And although Congress amended Title IV of the 1964 Civil Rights Act to allow the U.S. attorney general to sue educational institutions for sexually discriminatory practices, the attorney general rarely did so. Furthermore, the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission concentrated on cases of racial, not sexual, discrimination. During the late 1970s, many women invoked the nonspecific Equal Protection Clause of the 14th Amendment instead of specific anti-discrimination laws in lawsuits.

Not until 1979 did it become clear that women could bring lawsuits under Title IX. A number of lawsuits that had been filed by women against institutions of higher education, alleging sexual discrimination in hiring, promotion, tenure decisions, and compensation, met with mixed success. Courts appeared to be hesitant to consider class-action suits in light of the academic tradition of individual peer review, especially with regard to qualitative standards of teaching ability and scholarly contributions. In general, both faculty members and students had more success with individual rather than class-action suits.

After 1980 the federal government under President Ronald Reagan instituted a number of changes that affected women both directly and indirectly. Among these were withdrawal or reduction of aid for a number of educational and health programs (many of which benefited women and minorities); changes in tax laws concerning employment benefits (including child care); and cuts in or elimination of federal loan guarantees for college students. The president and the Republican National Platform also supported a "human life" amendment to the Constitution to prohibit abortion, thus counteracting the 1973 Supreme Court decisions that declared the right of women to choose whether or not to bear children to be part of their fundamental right to privacy. Legislators began revisions that could lead to abolition of federal guidelines that protected women from sexual harassment on the job, an area that continued to be particularly ill-defined. In general, regulatory bodies, employers, and even women appeared to be less concerned with equal rights and affirmative action policies during the early 1980s.

## Summary

Statistical evidence of differences between women and men in communications education is considerable. From the early 1970s until the early 1980s the

numbers of women on communications faculties more than quadrupled, but by 1983-84 women still made up only a sixth of these faculties, compared to nearly a fourth across all college disciplines. The imbalance between a low proportion of female faculty and a high proportion — nearly 60% — of female students in communications was greater than it was in higher education as a whole.

Faculty women in communications were clustered in the lower ranks, with 83% of them at or below the rank of assistant professor or holding special, often part-time positions. Their average salaries were substantially lower than those of their male colleagues when compared at every rank and in three qualification categories: highest degree earned and years of teaching and professional experience. Salary differences between faculty women and men by rank were slightly greater across all disciplines than they were in communications.

In addition, in the early 1980s there were some signs that the political climate, which spawned affirmative actions programs in the 1970s, was becoming less supportive of women's demands for equality.

# III. 1983 Survey: Women's Perceptions of the Field Of Communications Education

## Methodology

In 1983 a questionnaire was administered by mail to 810 women identified as current faculty, current doctoral students, or doctoral graduates in the field of journalism and mass communications education. An attempt was made to make this survey as much of a census as possible. In addition to combing the AEJMC membership roster and the list of women who were sent the 1972 questionnaire, the 23 American universities offering journalism/mass communications doctoral programs were solicited for names and addresses of current female doctoral students, of women who had earned doctorates since the inception of their programs, and of current female faculty. Responses were received from all but two of these 23 universities.

Questionnaires were mailed during a two-week period in late April and early May. From the mailing of 810, 198 questionnaires were not delivered (due to wrong addresses, etc.), leaving a population of 612. A total of 199 questionnaires were returned and analyzed for the purposes of this study for a response rate of 33%. It is possible, however, that the actual response rate was somewhat higher because some women may have been mailed more than one questionnaire. Those who were both faculty members and graduate students, for instance, or those who were known under both married and maiden names may have appeared on two lists.

Because comparative data were sought, an attempt was made to replicate a number of the questions on the 1972 survey. In most cases this was useful; in a few instances it caused difficulties. In one case, not replicating a 1972 question caused a problem.

Although it is interesting to compare the results of the 1972 and 1983 surveys, it should be noted that the universe for each of the two studies was different. While the 1972 survey was geared toward journalism education, an effort was made to broaden the 1983-84 study to include non-journalism communications areas, thus reflecting changes in AEJMC and in mass communications education as a whole. There were other differences between the 1972 and 1983 respondents. First, the group of women who participated in the earlier survey contituted a much more uniform population. All either had doctorates or were working on doctorates, whereas the 1983 survey included some women who neither had doctorates nor were working on them. Also, the 73% response rate to the earlier survey was considerably higher than the response rate in 1983, a factor that could have resulted from more concern about the topic in 1972 and from the difference in the populations.

There were no male respondents to either the 1972 or the 1983 surveys. The authors of this study see a pressing need for a future survey involving both male and female respondents, so that more comprehensive comparisons can be made. For instance, while many of the female respondents in both the 1972 and 1983 surveys expressed dissatisfaction with regard to their salaries, it was impossible

to determine whether the dissatisfaction was shared by their male colleagues and, if so, to what degree.

Data reported in the survey section of this paper were based on frequency distributions and cross-tabulations of selected variables in the study and on open-ended questions. With regard to the questions about sex discrimination, it should be noted that the answers represent the women's *opinions* about their personal experiences in doctoral programs or on communications faculties.[24]

## Typical Respondent

The typical respondent to the 1983 survey was a 38-year-old woman who worked as a full-time faculty member on the communications faculty of an American public college or university. An untenured assistant professor who taught courses in print journalism, she earned $21,150 a year.

In her personal life, the typical respondent was more likely than not to be married and, if she was, to be the mother of two children. If she wasn't married, she was single rather than divorced, separated, or living with a male.

The typical respondent earned her bachelor's degree around 1969 and her master's nearly a decade later, in 1978. If she did not have her doctorate at the time she participated in the survey, she was working on it. In terms of experience, the typical respondent had worked outside of teaching for 9 years, and it is also possible that she had had noncollegiate teaching experience, probably at the high school level.

The typical respondent was very likely to have engaged in several activities of a scholarly or professional nature in the three years prior to participation in the survey. She had presented several papers at professional meetings and published an article in either a refereed or nonrefereed journal. Possibly she had also had her work published in the popular media. She was unlikely to have published a trade book or textbook.

The typical respondent belonged to the AEJMC and at least one other organization, most often Women in Communications, Inc., (WICI) or some more specialized association in the area of her expertise.

Although the typical respondent believed that the women's movement had advanced the cause of sexual equality in general, as well as in the field of communications education, she did not belong to any women's movement organization.

## Respondent Demographics

More specifically, the demographic statistics showed that 61% of the respondents to the 1983 survey were full-time faculty members, 8% part-time faculty, 14% full-time students, and 1% part-time students who did no teaching. The rest were employed outside of academia (2%) or else marked "other" on their surveys (14%). Of that 69% who were either full-time or part-time faculty members, 17% were also students.

While all the respondents to the 1972 survey either had doctorates or were working on doctorates, only 54% were faculty members. Thirty percent of them were doctoral students and 16% were neither doctoral students nor faculty members. Authors of the 1972 study said that the bulk of those in that 16% were women with doctorates who worked in occupations other than collegiate teaching.

Forty-two percent of the 1983 respondents listed themselves as assistant professors, 17% as associate professors, 9% as lecturers, 6% as full professors, 5% as instructors, and 1% as adjuncts. Five percent had academic ranks other than those enumerated on the survey form (some may have been teaching assistants); 15% were not working as faculty. There were no full professors in advertising, broadcast news, broadcast production, graphic arts, and photography and only

[24]All percentages in this report on the 1983 survey were computed on the basis of the total number of respondents who answered the individual questions. Thus, the populations varied from question to question.

one in public relations and one each in newspaper and magazine journalism.

In the 1972 study only the ranks of the faculty members with doctorates were reported. In this group, 10 said they were assistant professors, 11 said they were associate professors, and one said she was a full professor.

An overwhelming majority of the faculty members who responded to the 1983 survey worked at public rather than private colleges or universities. Fewer than a third of them (29%) had tenure.

Of the 192 respondents who completed the 1983 question on salary, only 3% made annual salaries of $40,000 or higher. Another 5% made between $35,000 and $39,999 and another 8% between $30,000 and $34,999. The rest (84%) made salaries ranging from $25,000 to $29,999 (17%), from $20,000 to $24,999 (31%), from $15,000 to $19,999 (13%), and less than $15,000 (23%). Not all of the respondents, of course, were college teachers nor were all working full time.

Respondents to the 1983 survey ranged in age from 24 to 66 years. Nine percent of the respondents were in their 20s, 55% were in their 30s, 21% were in their 40s, 11% in their 50s, and 4% in their 60s.

Respondents to the 1972 survey ranged in age from 24 to 59 years, with the average age being 39, the same as in the 1983 survey.

Fifty-six percent of the 1983 respondents were married, 27% were single, and 13% were divorced. The rest (4%) were either separated, widowed, or cohabiting. The percentages were similar in reference to the marital statuses of the respondents with doctorates at the times they were working on their doctoral degrees except that fewer were married (50%) and more were single (24%) or cohabiting (4%).

A much smaller proportion of the 1972 respondents were married, only 27%. Then, 49% were single, 21% divorced, and 3% widowed. Only 22% were mothers (who had an average of 2.2 children).

More than half of the 1983 respondents (57%) said they had no children, while 43% said they did. However, there were few large families. Of the 82 mothers, 35% had a single child, 39% had two children, 21% had three children, 4% had four children, and 1% had five children. No respondent had more than five children.

In terms of the highest degrees held by the respondents, 46% listed the Ph.D., 49% the master's degree, and 5% the bachelor's degree. However, 50% of those without doctorates listed themselves as doctoral students.

Seventy-four percent of these highest degrees were earned in journalism or mass communications fields, 6% in education, 5% in the social sciences, 4% in the humanities, and 1% in business administration. The remaining 10% earned their degrees in other fields.

A majority of respondents (52%) listed college-level teaching experience in the area of newspaper journalism, 21% in public relations, 15% in magazine journalism, 14% in advertising, 9% in broadcast production, and 6% each in graphic arts and broadcast news. Forty-six percent of the respondents had teaching experience in subjects other than those listed on the survey. Obviously, a number of the respondents had teaching experience in more than a single area.

A majority of the respondents (54%) also listed professional experience in the field of newspaper journalism, while 43% claimed to have had professional experience in public relations, 23% in magazine journalism, 18% in advertising, 13% in broadcast news, 10% in broadcast production, 9% in graphic arts, and 8% in photojournalism. Another 29% said they had had professional experience in other areas.

In 1972 public relations was the field in which respondents reported having the greatest amount of experience. Among 52 women who reported having worked professionally then, 36% said they had been employed the longest in public relations, followed by newspaper work (21%), magazine (15%), research (12%), radio-television (10%), and advertising (6%).

A large majority of the 1983 respondents (75%) belonged to the AEJMC,

and 7% said they were officers or committee chairpersons. Another 45% belonged to WICI.

Other professional organizations represented were the International Communications Association (21%), American Association for Public Opinion Research (8%), the American Advertising Federation (7%), and the Speech Communication Association, Public Relations Society of America, International Association of Business Communicators, and Broadcast Educators Association, each with 5%. The National Association of Broadcasters and National Association of Educational Broadcasters had 3% and 1% respectively.

Although an overwhelming majority of the respondents (96%) said that the women's movement had advanced the cause of sexual equality generally and 86% said it had advanced the cause of sexual equality in the field of communications education specifically, only 36% said they were affiliated with any women's movement organizations.

Only 47% of the respondents answered "yes" or "no" to the survey question: "Do you think the Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in Journalism and Mass Communication has advanced the cause of sexual equality in journalism/mass communication education?" Of these, however, 78% thought the committee had and 22% thought it had not.

One-third of the respondents reported having had articles accepted or published in general circulation or popular media in the preceding three years. The average number of pieces published during that period was 20.

A total of 42% of the respondents said that in the previous three years they had published an average of 2.7 articles in refereed journals and another 35% claimed to have published an average of 2.8 articles in non-refereed journals during the same time period. A majority of the respondents (60%) had presented an average of 4.2 papers at professional meetings in the preceding three years.

Book publishing among the respondents was rare. Only 6% had published an average of 1.8 textbooks in the foregoing three years and another 8% had published an average of 1.4 trade books.

## Doctoral Studies

There were 148 respondents (74%) who either had doctorates or were working toward them. Of this number a vast majority (97%) said they were not aware of any instances in which an individual (including themselves) applying for admission to a doctoral program had been turned down because of sex (94% felt the same in 1972). Nine out of 10 respondents also said they were not aware of any instances in which a doctoral applicant (including themselves) had not received a fellowship or assistantship because of sex. Eighty-six percent indicated the same thing in 1972. Of the 15 respondents who indicated awareness of discrimination in this area in 1983, all said the applicant had been a woman.

Most 1983 respondents (four-fifths) said they had been encouraged to pursue their Ph.D. studies by a professor, faculty adviser, or counselor. Most (83%) also reported having received encouragement from their parents and almost all (93%) of those who were married during their doctoral studies said they had been encouraged by their spouses.

A majority of those who had gone through or were going through a Ph.D. program (62%) regarded some faculty member as an academic mentor, and in three out of four cases this mentor was male. Younger respondents were more likely to single out mentors than older respondents.

While no problems were perceived in *entering* doctoral programs and in receiving encouragement from particular individuals such as spouses, parents, and specific faculty members, certain "complicating factors" were perceived by the 1983 respondents to be present on the way to the Ph.D.

It took respondents on average (the modal category) four to five years to complete their doctoral programs. Two-thirds said there were complicating fac-

tors, and comments provided by a number of women suggested that these factors primarily involved balancing the academic demands of doctoral work with the demands of family. It was even more difficult for those who were pursuing Ph.D.s while they taught full time. "Faculty women have no wives!" exclaimed one.

A second factor appeared to be a perception that women constantly had to prove themselves. The number of respondents who said they had to do more to earn the respect of male professors (65%) was more than twice the number of those who indicated they had to do more to earn the respect of female professors (30%). In 1972, 57% said they had to do more to earn a male professor's respect.

## Discrimination

**STUDENTS:** One-fourth of the respondents to the 1983 survey considered sexual discrimination against students to be either a major (2%) or a moderate (23%) problem. On the other hand, 75% said it was either not a problem at all (36%) or only a slight problem (39%).

Those respondents who said sexual discrimination against students was a problem saw that discrimination as subtle. Male faculty often treated female students paternalistically, some of the respondents claimed, treated them as objects, or else left them out of the academic mainstream in one way or another. It was suggested by some that female students received fewer job tips than did male students or were excluded from social activities after class. Although respondents did not define sexual harrassment of female students, many said it was of more concern to them as female faculty members than any other form of sexual discrimination.

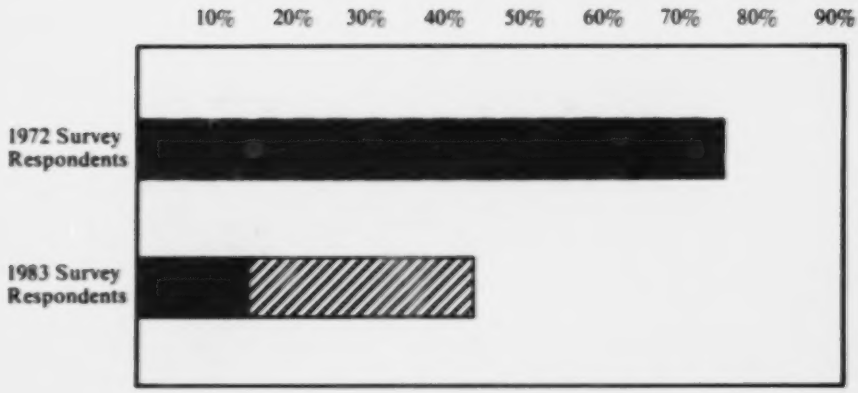
**FACULTY:** Qualitatively, the authors of this study feel certain that while sexual discrimination against female faculty in the communications field continues to be an issue that deserves attention, it was measurably less of a problem and perceived to be less of a problem in the early 1980s than it was in 1972, when the first survey was conducted. However, assessing the level of discontent among women in 1983 and comparing it to that in 1972 on the basis of the 1972 and 1983 surveys is complicated because of differences in the two questionnaires and the puzzling and seemingly contradictory way the 1983 respondents answered two questions.

When the 1983 survey participants responded to a general question about discrimination,[25] only a minority saw sexual discrimination as a problem at all, a much smaller percentage than in 1972, as shown in Figure 3. However, when these same respondents were asked about sexual discrimination in regard to specific issues,[26] they registered high levels of concern, considerably higher than in 1972, as shown in Figure 4. Comparing the 1972 and 1983 results is made even more difficult due to differences in the two questionnaires. There were two questions on sexual discrimina-

[25]In Question No. 35 respondents were asked: "How much of a problem do you think sex discrimination against faculty or faculty applicants is in journalism/mass communication programs at the university level?" The possible responses were: (1) not at all a problem, (2) a slight problem, (3) a moderate problem, or (4) a major problem.

[26]In Question No. 36 respondents were asked: "If you think sex discrimination against faculty or faculty applicants generally is a problem, in which areas do you think it occurs?" In answering the question, the respondents were asked to react to a list of areas, indicating whether each was (1) a major problem, (2) a minor problem, or (3) not a problem. On the list were (1) salary, (2) promotion in rank, (3) tenure decisions, (4) committee assignments, (5) departmental decision-making, (6) travel opportunities, (7) appointment to leadership positions (dean, director, etc.), (8) other. Respondents who had answered "not at all a problem" to Question No. 35 were instructed to skip Question No. 36. However, most of them did not follow this instruction.

**Figure 3**
**General Concern About Sexual Discrimination**
**Among 1972 and 1983 Survey Respondents**

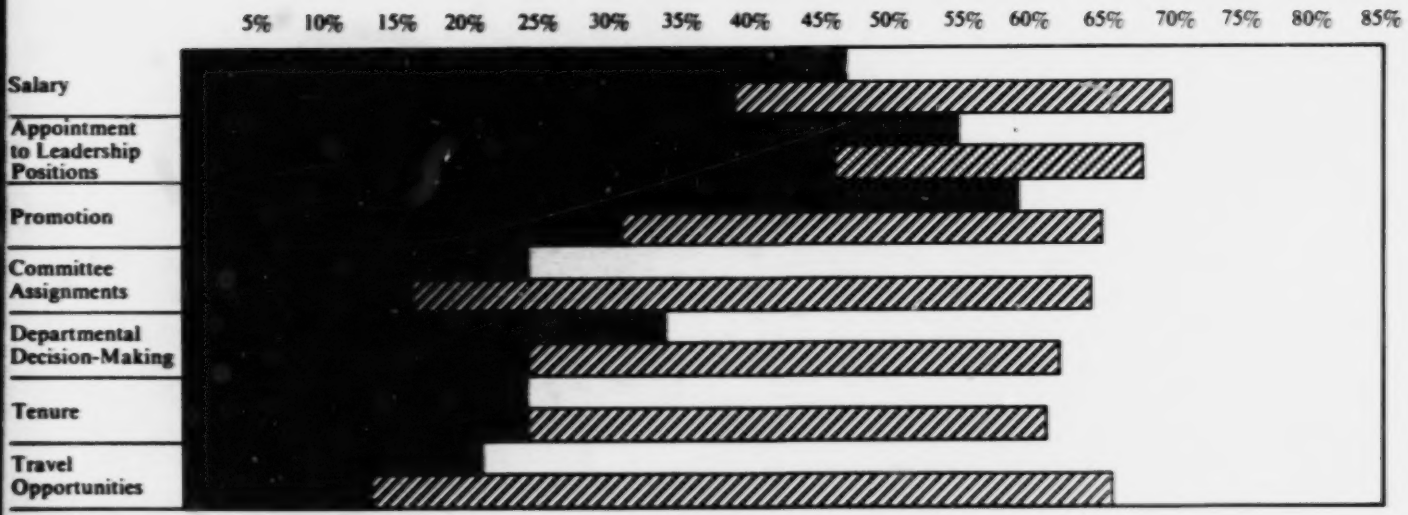



Percentage of respondents who considered sexual discrimination a problem for women in journalism education

Percentage of respondents who considered sexual discrmination a *major* problem for women in communications education

Percentage of respondents who considered sexual discrimination a *minor* problem for women in communications education

**Figure 4**
**Areas 1972 and 1983 Survey Respondents Identified With Sexual Discrimination Problems**


5% 10% 15% 20% 25% 30% 35% 40% 45% 50% 55% 60% 65% 70% 75% 80% 85%
Salary
Appointment to Leadership Positions
Promotion
Committee Assignments
Departmental Decision-Making
Tenure
Travel Opportunities
Considered a sexual discrimination problem area by 1972 survey respondents
Considered a sexual discrimination *major* problem area by 1983 survey respondents
Considered a sexual discrimination *minor* problem area by 1983 respondents

1972 figures are from a survey made by Ramona R. Rush, Carol E. Oukrop, and Sandra W. Ernst for a paper, "More Than You Ever Wanted To Know About Women in Communication Education," that they presented that year at the annual American Association for Education in Journalism convention. The more recent figures are from a survey conducted in the spring of 1983 for the present study.

tion against faculty on the 1983 questionnaire, and they allowed each respondent to specify her level of concern about discrimination in general and also to show whether she considered a specific issue to be a major problem, a minor problem, or not a problem. These two questions collected considerably more information than did the 1972 survey but they made it impossible to draw meaningful comparisons between the two surveys. In 1972 the respondents could only indicate whether discrimination was a problem or not. If they saw a problem in a particular area, they were forced into responding that discrimination was a general problem.

In 1983, then, in answer to the general question about discrimination (No. 35), a majority of the survey respondents (57%) said they did not consider sexual discrimination against faculty women to be a problem, while 14% considered it a major problem and 29% said it was a slight problem. Not a single respondent checked the fourth option on the questionnaire, a moderate problem.

Those respondents who said sexual discrimination against female faculty was a major problem tended to be single, full-time faculty with doctoral degrees but without tenure. More often than not they were employed by private institutions.

In the 1972 survey of 101 women who were teaching in journalism programs or working toward doctoral degrees in journalism programs, sexual discrimination against faculty was perceived as significantly more of a problem. More than three-fourths (76%) of women faculty in that survey said discrimination *was* a problem, and many of the remaining one-quarter who checked a no-discrimination response followed that response with a "but . . .," "however . . .," or scrawled marginalia citing examples of sexual discrimination against female faculty members. See Figure 3.

While seemingly less concerned about discrimination in general than their 1972 counterparts, the 1983 respondents seemed to do an about-face when answering the more specific question about discrimination, as shown in Figure 4. Whereas only 43% of the respondents considered sexual discrimination against communications faculty or faculty applicants to be a problem in general, substantially higher percentages found it to be a problem (either major or minor) when asked about particular areas such as the following: salary (70%), appointments to leadership positions (68%), travel opportunities (66%), promotion in rank (65%), committee assignments (64%), departmental decision-making (63%), and tenure decisions (61%). More of the respondents (46%) found appointments to leadership positions to be a *major* problem area than any of the other areas. This was followed by salary (an area that 39% of the respondents deemed a *major* problem area), promotion (30% said this was a *major* problem area), tenure decisions and departmental decision-making (24% apiece), committee assignments (16%), and travel opportunities (13%).[27]

In 1972, the area of concern to the largest number of survey respondents was promotion in rank. A total of 59% deemed this a problem area for sexual discrimination, followed by appointments to leadership positions (signified as a problem area by 55% of the respondents), salary (which concerned 47%), departmental decision-making (34%), tenure decisions and committee assignments (24% apiece), and travel opportunities (21%).

In both 1972 and 1983, then, survey respondents were most concerned about sexual discrimination in connection with salary, appointments to leadership positions, and promotion in rank as shown in Figure 4.

Those most likely to single out appointments to leadership positions as an area of discrimination in 1983 were younger, tenured faculty women, those with doctoral degrees, those who worked at private institutions, and those with salaries at the lower end of the range. As might be

[27]Respondents could select any or all of these options. Percentages were figured using the 155 persons who answered questions on the teaching section of the questionnaire as the population.

expected, respondents were most likely to indicate salary discrimination as a primary concern if they were at the low end of the pay scale ($10,000 to $19,999 annually), if they were younger, if they did not have doctoral degrees, and if they were not tenured.

When asked which area of discrimination was of greatest *personal* concern, the largest number of 1983 respondents (38%) said salary. Other areas of greatest *personal* concern were appointments to leadership positions (22%), involvement in departmental decision-making (20%), tenure (8%), and promotion (7%).[28] A few respondents wrote in their own personal concerns: biased hiring practices and administrators' expectations that women carry heavier committee-assignment loads than men were each mentioned by two women. One woman said her biggest concern was that women seemed to discriminate against themselves because "they don't seem to think they have the ability to be administrators." Another took the opposite view, that women were receiving more favorable treatment than they deserved.

## Female Administrators

More than two-thirds of the 1983 survey respondents (68%) said they felt sexual discrimination was the primary reason there were so few women administrators — deans, directors, or department chairs — in journalism and mass communications schools or departments. Less than half (48%) shared this view in 1972.

Some of the women in 1983 who linked sexual discrimination to a shortage of female administrators offered explanations. As one put it, "It's hard to change old sexist attitudes." Other respondents said that women were not encouraged to go into administration to the extent men were and that women were not encouraged to obtain the necessary administrative skills. One woman said women faculty were considered "too unstable" to be administrators because they had family responsibilities in addition to their professional obligations.

A few women put the blame for the scarcity of female administrators not on sexual discrimination but on women faculty themselves, saying women were frequently not as qualified for nor as interested in administrative work as men.

## Salaries

About half (49%) of the 1983 respondents perceived their salaries as being equal to those of male colleagues with similar training and experience, while another 7% said their salaries were higher than those of similarly qualified males. A total of 44% said their salaries were less than those of their male faculty counterparts. In the 1972 survey 56% of the respondents perceived their salaries as being less than those of equally qualified men.

In 1983 women faculty who were tenured were more likely than nontenured women to say their salaries were equal to those of male counterparts. Not surprisingly, younger women and those with salaries between $10,000 and $19,999 were most likely to say they were paid less than men, while older women and those earning either less than $10,000 (probably those who taught part time) or more than $30,000 annually said they were paid salaries equal to men with similar backgrounds and experience. Somewhat of a surprise, however, was the fact that women with doctoral degrees were more likely to say they were paid less than male counterparts, while women without doctoral degrees were more likely to see parity with male colleagues.

Respondents were more likely to see parity between their salaries and those of female counterparts than they did with salaries of men, however. Seven in 10 said their salaries were equal to similarly trained and qualified female colleagues,

[28]Respondents could choose only one option.

and only 1 in 10 said she earned less than female counterparts with similar backgrounds.

It is important to note that salary comparisons generally were based upon respondents' own "guesstimates" formed from word-of-mouth estimates or informal sharing of salary information among faculty. Some respondents, however, cited as their bases for comparison salary information released either by state governments or by respondents' own colleges and universities.

## Teaching Loads

The 1983 respondents' teaching loads during a regular year (two semesters or three quarters, excluding summer) ranged from one course (7%) to eight courses (12%). The modal category number (26%) taught six courses a year. Some 53% of the respondents taught between two and five courses a year; 2% taught seven courses. A quarter of the respondents, however, taught five or more *different* courses a year. Nearly half taught either three *different* courses a year (28%) or four (20%). The remaining respondents (21%) taught fewer than three different courses a year.

These teaching loads were generally consistent with what respondents considered to be average teaching loads for their academic units.

## Promotion and Tenure

The majority of respondents (71%) said the chance of female faculty being promoted was equal to that of male faculty, but 40% said females were promoted *less quickly* than their male counterparts. A smaller number (28%) said women had a poorer chance for promotion than men. Those in the minority who said women's chances for promotion were less favorable than those of men generally were the younger, the single, the non-tenured, and the lower-paid faculty.

In the 1972 study, 33% of the respondents said women did *not* have an equal chance for promotion with male faculty in their academic units.

Two of the 1983 respondents wrote on their questionnaires that women had a better chance at promotion than men because of affirmative action programs. Thirteen others wrote in reasons why women had a poorer chance. Among other things, these 13 said that men dominated promotions committees, that women were not pals with the department chairs or deans and thus did not get the plum assignments or consulting opportunities, that fewer women faculty had doctoral degrees and were thus viewed as less qualified, that women were given more committee assignments and heavier teaching loads than men and thus had less time for promotion-enhancing activities, or that universities tended to hire women as part-time faculty so "they don't have to pay benefits or consider the women for promotion or tenure."

## Collegial Relationships

Almost two-thirds of the respondents (66%) reported no difficulty in their relationships with other female faculty or staff in their academic units. A smaller number, though still a majority (59%), said their relationships with male colleagues had been free of difficulty.

Most of the difficulties respondents cited in relationships with other women were with female secretaries. A number of respondents said female secretaries did not want to do for women what they were willing to do for men and criticized faculty women more than the men for whom they performed secretarial duties. One respondent said the difficulties with secretaries were due to the "embarrassment" women faculty felt at asking other women to do work for them.

While some of the examples of difficulties with male colleagues involved interpersonal problems that could exist between any two faculty members regardless of sex — such as disagreements over policy or conflicts over salary and teaching assignments — other examples were

perhaps indications of a perception that women were viewed by men as inferior. Several respondents said their male colleagues treated them chauvinistically and made patronizing comments. Another cited difficulty in convincing equipment engineers and technicians that women were capable of properly using school equipment.

## Discriminatory Attitudes

A majority (59%) of the 1983 respondents said they felt they had to do more than male faculty to earn the respect of male faculty colleagues and another 59% said they had to do more than male counterparts to earn the respect of male administrators. Those women who said they had to do more to earn the respect of either male colleagues or administrators tended to be the younger, the tenured, and those who generally earned less than $20,000 annually.

Specific examples of "doing more" included women needing more publications than men to earn equal respect, needing to be more active and visible in committee and service work than men, and consistently having to do more than men to prove themselves. Some respondents said male administrators respected men more than they did women and that these administrators wanted "more and different kinds of work from women" than they did from male faculty. Two respondents mentioned the lack of a female version of the "old boy network," with the consequence that women had to work for their reputations rather than having them conferred on them by a "crony system."

Although earning the respect of female faculty colleagues and female administrators seemed easier than earning male respect, almost one-fourth of the respondents (24%) said they had to do more to earn the respect of female faculty colleagues than did their male counterparts, and 30% said they had to work harder than males to earn the respect of female administrators. These respondents were either much younger or much older than those who said they had to work less hard, or no harder, than male colleagues. They also were more likely to lack doctoral degrees, to be untenured, to be employed by private institutions, and to earn less than $20,000 annually.

## Recruitment

Respondents in 1983 were just about evenly divided in reporting about whether their institutions made special efforts to recruit female candidates for faculty positions: 49% said yes, and 51% said no. Specific examples of special recruiting efforts cited by respondents included reliance on affirmative action programs, which *required* active recruitment of women faculty, and the inclusion of women on faculty search or selection committees.

A large majority (70%) of the respondents said that qualified women were considered for academic positions in their academic units as frequently as were qualified men, while 22% said women were considered less frequently and 8% said women were considered more frequently.

The majority of respondents (75%) said their institutions made no special efforts to assist female faculty members in qualifying or preparing for promotion or tenure. The few who said their institutions *did* make special efforts mentioned actions many respondents said they would like to see *all* institutions take: assign "faculty advisers" to women faculty members to assist them in the preparation of proper documentation and provide special help to all junior faculty — not just women — for research assistance or funding. It was also suggested that women faculty who already had tenure or had recently been promoted work closely with female colleagues about to go through either process.

## Nepotism

The overwhelming majority of 1983 respondents reported having had no

difficulty, nor being aware of others having had difficulty, with either formal or informal nepotism rules restricting or prohibiting the employment of husbands and wives, or relatives, on the same journalism/mass communications faculty. Only 12 respondents reported personal difficulty with nepotism rules, and only 25 said they were aware of others who had had difficulty.

## Job Satisfaction

Six in 10 of the 1983 respondents (62%) said they were satisfied with their present academic positions, while a quarter said they were dissatisfied. Those most satisfied were the tenured faculty, those earning between $20,000 and $29,999 annually, and those without doctoral degrees. Those with doctoral degrees earning either less or more than this range were generally less satisfied, as were the younger respondents.

Slightly fewer respondents (56%) were satisfied with their present academic units, while more than two-thirds (67%) said they were satisfied with their job security. Almost one-third (32%) said they were dissatified with their present academic units, and 23% said they were dissatisfied with their job security.

Salary seemed to have less to do with satisfaction with academic unit or with feelings of job security than did age or tenure status. Generally, those earning less than $20,000 annually were the most satisfied in this area, as were older women and those with tenure. Those with doctoral degrees were more likely to be satisfied with their job security than those with less education, but respondents without doctoral degrees were more satisfied with their academic units than those with doctorates.

Perhaps because so many were satisfied with their current positions, a large majority (78%) of the respondents said they were not actively looking for positions that would mean promotions at other colleges or universities. However, almost the same number (73%) said they would be receptive if offered promotions elsewhere. Almost half (48%) also said they would be receptive to a lateral-move offer from another institution.

More than three-fourths (77%) said they were interested in staying at their present universities or colleges.

## Perceptions of Change

Women who participated in both the 1972 and 1983 studies were asked to compare the status of women in journalism and mass communications education in 1983 with that when the original study was conducted. Most of the differences mentioned by the 27 respondents were positive and reflected a general consensus that the status of women academics in the communications field had improved. Of the current situation they said:

— more women students were in graduate schools, which, one said, "should result in more women professionals in the future";

— more women were employed in journalism and mass communications education, receiving higher salaries, and being promoted more often than in the past;

— more women were working as administrators (despite a general feeling there were still too few women in administrative positions);

— more women were participating, and visibly so, in professional journalism and mass communications associations;

— there was a greater acceptance of and sensitivity to women in academic circles;

— women faculty were better-educated;

— women faculty were more assertive, more career-oriented, and more likely to take themselves seriously than they had been a decade earlier.

## Summary

Although there are problems associated with comparing the results of the 1972 and 1983 surveys, it is probably safe to say that the years from 1972 to 1983 were marked by considerable change with regard to the perceptions of women toward the field of communications education.

The 1983 survey respondents (61% of whom were full-time faculty members) were considerably more optimistic about opportunties for women in the field than their predecessors (54% of whom were full-time faculty) had been 11 years earlier. In fact, the consensus of the 27 women who completed both the 1972 and 1983 surveys was that the communications education field had opened up a great deal.

A total of 62% of those surveyed in 1983 were satisfied with their current academic positions, and only 43% believed sexual discrimination against women in communications education constituted either a major or slight problem. In contrast, 76% of the 1972 respondents had seen sexual discrimination as a problem. In general, the respondents reported few problems associated with nepotism, teaching loads, or entry into graduate school. Most said female job candidates at their schools were considered on an equal basis with male candidates.

It is also possible that women in 1983 were finding it easier or more attractive to combine marriage and motherhood with careers in communications education. Only 27% of the 1972 respondents were married and only 22% were mothers. The 1983 respondents were just about twice as likely to be wives (56%) and mothers (43%).

Still, in regard to specific areas of concern, sizeable percentages of the 1983 respondents continued to perceive problems in regard to the practice of sexual discrimination toward women in communications education. The three areas of greatest concern — both in 1972 and 1983 — were promotion, appointment to leadership positions, and salary. In general, the 1983 respondents who were the least sanguine about the field of communications education were the younger women and those with lower salaries.

# IV. Content Analysis: Women's Participation In Scholarly Activities

## Methodology

Part of the study conducted in 1972 by Rush, Oukrop, and Ernst was a content analysis of 11 years of *Journalism Quarterly*. A similar study of six leading communications journals over a five-year period was undertaken for this investigation, with the objective of documenting the extent of participation of women as authors of research articles.

Articles in journals published from 1979 to 1983 were categorized (1) by gender of first authors and secondary authors in order of their appearance in by-lines and (2) by primary research method used. The journals included were *Journalism Quarterly, Journal of Broadcasting, Journal of Advertising, Journal of Communications, Public Relations Review*, and *Journalism History*. Where library holdings were incomplete, the coders attempted to compensate by including some issues from 1984. Only four years were coded for *Public Relations Review* and for *Journalism History* because of incomplete or missing holdings. In addition, the "Research in Brief" and book review sections of *Journalism Quarterly* from 1979 to 1983 were studied to determine what percentage of the authors were women, and the publication's editorial board was examined for 1983 to see how many of its members were women.

## Findings

**AUTHORSHIP:** Table 5 shows that the ratio of female to male first authors across the six journals was a little less than 1 to 4. The proportion of female first authors ranged from a high in *Journalism History* of one-third female to a low of 8% female in *Public Relations Review*.

Table 6 shows that more than a fourth of the secondary authors of articles were women. Interestingly, the highs and lows were opposite those for first authors, ranging from 46% female secondary authors in *Public Relations Review* to none in *Journalism History*.

Table 7 shows that in the category of brief articles in *Journalism Quarterly* (1979-83) women constituted 4% of the first authors of articles that had multiple authors and 27% of the single authors. Women wrote 14% of the *Journalism Quarterly* book reviews from 1979-83 and filled 12% of the editorial board positions on the journal in 1983.

**RESEARCH METHOD:** In terms of methodology, women did not differ from men in their preference for a particular approach. Of all articles with female first authors, 34% used some qualitative method (e.g., historical or legal studies), compared to 38% of articles for male first authors. Twenty-two percent of those with female first authors used content analysis compared to 20% of those with male first authors. Nine percent of the female first author group used the experimental method, compared to 7% of the male first author group.

## Summary

The participation of women as authors of papers in communications journals appears to have increased during the past decade. As part of their 1972 paper, Rush, et al., made a content analysis of *Journalism Quarterly* from 1960-71, dividing participation activities into two categories — self-initiated and invited — and concluded that women had "their

smallest impact in those areas in which they would contribute by virtue of invitation."

At a time when women constituted 7% to 8% of journalism faculties, the 1972 survey noted that in the self-initiated category 10% of contributors to "Research in Brief" and 7% of contributors of major articles were women. In the invited category 9% of editors and/or members of the editorial advisory board were women. Also invited were items for "News Notes," 4% by women; book reviews, 2%; and annotated bibliographies, 2%.

This pattern seems to have continued to a certain extent. While women (put in the perspective of the 17% of women on communications faculties in 1983) appear to have been as productive as or even more productive than their male colleagues in research activities that were self-initiated and depended on blind judging (1979-83), their participation (at least in *Journalism Quarterly)* seems to have lagged somewhat behind in regard to invited participation.

**Table 5**
**Gender of First Authors of Articles**
**In Leading Communications Journals, 1979-83**

| Journal | % Female First Authors | % Male First Authors | % Gender of First Authors Unknown* | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average in the Six Journals | 18.4% | 79.4% | 2.2% | 1,346 |
| *Journalism Quarterly* | 16.6% | 78.4% | 5.0% | 496 |
| *Journal of Broadcasting* | 22.5% | 76.3% | 1.2% | 160 |
| *Journal of Advertising* | 10.0% | 90.0% | 0.0% | 210 |
| *Journal of Communications* | 20.6% | 74.2% | 5.2% | 349 |
| *Public Relations Review* | 8.3% | 91.7% | 0.0% | 72 |
| *Journalism History* | 32.2% | 66.1% | 1.7% | 59 |

*In some cases it was impossible to determine the gender of an article's first author (e.g., when initials were used instead of a full first name).

**Table 6**
**Gender of Secondary Authors of Articles**
**In Leading Communications Journals, 1979-83**

| Journal | % Female Secondary Authors | % Male Secondary Authors | % Gender of Secondary Authors Unknown* | N |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Average in the Six Journals | 28.1% | 54.1% | 1.7% | 558 |
| *Journalism Quarterly* | 30.7% | 62.2% | 7.1% | 212 |
| *Journal of Broadcasting* | 37.3% | 62.7% | 0.0% | 83 |
| *Journal of Advertising* | 14.4% | 85.6% | 0.0% | 111 |
| *Journal of Communications* | 38.1% | 58.9% | 3.0% | 132 |
| *Public Relations Review* | 46.1% | 53.9% | 0.0% | 13 |
| *Journalism History* | 0.0% | 0.0% | 100.0% | 7 |

*In some cases it was impossible to determine the gender of an article's secondary author or authors (e.g., when initials were used instead of a full first name).

**Table 7**
**Gender of "Research in Brief" and Book Review Articles in *Journalism Quarterly*, 1979-83**

| | 1979 | | 1980 | | 1981 | | 1982 | | 1983 | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F | M | F |
| **Research in Brief:** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| **Single Authors** | 12<br>70.6% | 5<br>29.4% | 15<br>93.7% | 1<br>6.3% | 12<br>70.6% | 5<br>29.4% | 6<br>60.0% | 4<br>40.0% | 14<br>66.7% | 7<br>33.3% | 59<br>72.8% | 22<br>27.2% |
| **Multiple (% of First Authors)** | 8<br>100.0% | 0<br>0.0% | 15<br>100.0% | 0<br>0.0% | 14<br>93.3% | 1<br>6.7% | 17<br>89.5% | 2<br>10.5% | 13<br>100.0% | 0<br>0.0% | 67<br>95.7% | 3<br>4.3% |
| **Book Reviews** | 131<br>85.6% | 22<br>14.4% | 92<br>86.8% | 14<br>13.2% | 87<br>84.5% | 16<br>15.5% | 85<br>88.5% | 11<br>11.5% | 73<br>86.9% | 11<br>13.1% | 468<br>86.3% | 74<br>13.7% |

# V. Interviews: Opinions of Communications Educators

## Methodology

The third portion of this study was unlike anything that was carried out in 1972. Because the authors wished to delve into some of the issues raised by the statistics, the 1983 survey, and the content analysis, 26 personal and telephone interviews were conducted in the spring of 1984 with leaders in the communications education field across the country. The objective was to delve more deeply into the issues raised by the 1983 respondents by soliciting analyses and interpretations from men and women with different perspectives on the field of communications education.

An attempt was made to choose interviewees who would represent different perspectives. The interviewees were about equally divided between men and women. About half were administrators (deans or directors of schools or programs, or department chairmen); the rest were faculty women. The individuals represented 21 colleges and universities around the country, three-fourths of which were public, the rest private. Interviewees were involved in programs with graduate and undergraduate enrollments ranging from several hundred to several thousand students. Ten of the 21 programs offered doctoral degrees in communications; the rest did not.

In the spring of 1984, letters were sent to the 26 individuals asking to interview them about the 1983 survey results. They were asked for help in explaining the respondents' answers to the various survey questions. Enclosed in the letters were (1) lists of questions based on the 1983 survey findings and (2) brief summaries of the numerical results pertinent to those questions. Then, these 26 people (12 men and 14 women) were reached personally or by telephone for in-depth interviews that ranged in length from about a half hour to more than two hours. The interviewees were assured that they would not be identified by name or institution in any resulting publications because the authors of this study believed that this arrangement would encourage interviewees to speak candidly.

The interviewees were from 21 schools among the more than 300 listed in the Spring 1984 *Journalism Directory*. Fifteen were administrators and 11 were faculty members. Often both the dean or director of a school or program and a female faculty member who taught there were interviewed. In these 17 public and four private institutions, the combined undergraduate and graduate student populations studying mass communications varied substantially. Six of the schools could be classified as small (communications enrollment under 600), nine as medium-sized (enrollments from 600 to 1,100), and six as large (enrollments above 1,100). About half the institutions (10 of the 21) had doctoral programs in mass communications. None were junior colleges. Four of the colleges and universities were located in the East, three in the South, seven in the Midwest, three in the Southwest, and four in the West.

## Interview Questions

The interviewees were asked to respond to four general questions:

(1) How did they account for the imbalance between the large proportion of women *studying* mass communications and the small proportion of women *teaching* mass communications at American colleges and universities?

(2) Why were the 1983 respondents *far* less likely to see sexual discrimination as a problem with their careers than were their 1972 counterparts?

(3) How valid were the concerns the 1983 respondents *did* have regarding salaries, promotion, tenure, the small number of women administrators, and subtle discriminatory attitudes toward women?

(4) What was the future for women in communications education?

## Gender Imbalance

***This investigation showed an imbalance between the number of women studying mass communications at American colleges and universities and the number of women teaching mass communications courses there. A total of 59% of the undergraduate students and 52% of the master's students who graduated during the 1982-1983 academic year were women. However, only 36% of the communications Ph.D.s that year were awarded to women, and women made up only about 17% of communications faculties. How do you account for this striking imbalance? Is it important for a communications program or school to maintain any relationship at all between the proportion of male to female students and the proportion of male to female faculty members? To what extent, if any, is role modeling a factor in teaching and learning?***

Most of the interviewees maintained that striving for some general balance in the proportions of men and women students and men and women faculty was beneficial because of the importance of role modeling to students. Others said that it was useful because women had special contributions to make to the educational process.

A few, however, usually male administrators, said that no educational purpose was served by seeking such a balance, but these interviewees usually went on to concede that there probably was a scarcity of women in communications education. As one administrator of a medium-sized program said, "There's no reason . . . that there ought to be a balance between those being taught and those doing the teaching." But that is not to say, he added, that there should not be a great many more women teaching in communications schools.

The administrator of a large program agreed that balancing gender proportions should not be a primary consideration for communications schools. "I am more interested in finding expertise, well qualified persons," he said. "I don't care what race or sex. The most important thing is to provide your students with quality education. I think most women would rather have a well-qualified man than a poorly qualified woman. Students don't seem to address these issues with me. I've never had a student come into my office and complain because she didn't have a female professor in a course. But I've had lots of students come into my office and complain because they thought professors were incompetent or lacked professional experience or lacked knowledge or were unfair."

This same administrator talked about role modeling, but not necessarily because of sex or race. "I think it's more important to role-model yourself after someone who has integrity and brilliance and analytical or logical thinking, and who has character." He believed he should search for women and blacks with those special characteristics. He felt role modeling was particularly important for blacks. Women have had educational role models throughout their educational experiences, he said. From kindergarten until he reached graduate school, his own strongest role models in education were women. And he assumed this was true for most students. But blacks often have had no role models at all, he added, "so I

think it is more important to have black role models."

**ROLE MODELING:** Most of the interviewees, however, saw role modeling as important for both minority and female students. One male administrator, who called himself a self-proclaimed believer in role models, said he found the women on his faculty now to be great role models for students. He said he didn't mean to imply that because he was a man, he could not teach his classes with large female enrollments effectively. Rather, he believed it was good for women students to have female faculty so, he said, "they can see that it's possible to be a woman and do certain things. I don't want anybody looking at me and saying, 'He can do those things because he's a man.' I can say, 'Well, look, here is a woman on our faculty and she does the same things that I do.' It's a question of building confidence."

A male administrator was concerned about the dearth of role models for female students not just in the classroom but among textbook authors. "I can think of some fine research by women professors, but it tends to be more academically and theoretically oriented than professionally oriented," he said.

A woman in a medium-sized Midwestern program argued for role models but not necessarily proportional balance. She was unhappy that students could complete some programs without ever having had a female instructor. "Right now in our newsroom setting," she said, "we are concerned about that because it's an all-male bastion . . . and yet the majority of our students are women."

Another woman saw the increased number of minorities and women in broadcast courses as the result of affirmative action programs in the broadcast field. "I think that has had the effect of indicating to women and minorities that this is a field in which they are welcome and can succeed," she said.

In a school with significant female and minority enrollment, one administrator noted, "role modeling, the whole idea of someone to talk to, of someone to be an adviser to your student club, this kind of thing, is tremendously important, and getting more so."

In terms of advising, a woman who was teaching at a medium-sized school on leave from her industry job, agreed. She found that she served as an adviser on personal matters facing her female students: how to balance family and career, how to handle situations when one's husband may not want his wife to travel, etc. — "things their male professors can't deal with at all."

Several interviewees, on the other hand, felt that female faculty were special in their teaching as well as in their approach to dealing with student problems.

A male administrator argued that there was a need for "some of the special characteristics women bring, a certain kind of sensitivity perhaps men don't have, certain kinds of interests that men perhaps do not have." A woman on his faculty agreed. The administrator also saw a need for more female faculty to "alleviate the problems for women faculty today. . . . They have an enormous extra workload that is not on anybody's books — of being role models for women students and advisers on an incredible number of things that male faculty would never have — and that strains their energies tremendously. They need help. They need colleagues here to help share the burden."

The presence of women was important to the intellectual development of male as well as female students, according to a woman faculty member, who said, "We are teaching a whole generation how to perceive and think about the world. [Students] need exposure to a variety of ideas and resources."

**REASONS FOR IMBALANCE:** The interviewees generally were hesitant to attribute the imbalance in proportions of female students and faculty to current sexual discrimination, although a few did say past discriminatory practices had contributed to the present situation. One male administrator of a large program, for instance, was insistent that there was no more reason to believe that discrimi-

nation existed in colleges and universities than in elementary schools, where faculties were dominated by female teachers.

However, one female professor with a Ph.D. who taught in a small program was equally adamant that discrimination was the only plausible explanation for the collegiate imbalance. She had seen the large number of women students entering the field since the 1950s, she said, and "If you look at the grades of the women, at least at the undergraduate level, they're fine. These are not stupid women who are going into journalism schools and getting their degrees. Something is impeding their progress." She thought administrators paid only lip service to keeping up with their own minority and female graduates and finding out what their career success had been. Few of them really knew who those students were or where they went, she said. They did not call them up and keep in contact with them. She charged that alumni records were "absymal" and that contacting alumni was the "sort of aggressive behavior that's needed on the part of the journalism schools to encourage people [to seek careers in communications education]." Another faculty woman made a similar complaint when she said that seldom had teachers singled out strong minority or female students and encouraged them to pursue the education or research needed to teach in the field of communications education.

More commonly, however, interviewees pointed to historical and sociological factors to explain the imbalance. Most often they said the small proportion of women on communications faculties was a reflection of earlier enrollment patterns or else that women more often than men were burdened with special family responsibilities and that these responsibilities made it difficult for them to prepare for careers in communications education. A number of administrators testified that it was extremely difficult to find qualified women to consider for faculty openings for a number of reasons.

Many of the interviewees noted that there was a natural time lag from completion of undergraduate education, through completion of professional experience and graduate degrees, to entry into most areas of mass communications teaching. So the consensus seemed to be that it would take at least a decade for faculty percentages to reflect current enrollment patterns. Two administrators, however, claimed that job applicants interviewed at their schools now were predominantly women.

An administrator in a medium-sized program noted an aspect peculiar to journalism teachers in particular and mass communications teachers in general. In programs like his that "require a showing of significant professional experience you rarely hire anybody who is under 30, whether male or female," he said. These people must "have matured to the point they will be available to teach."

Interviewees felt that accumulating the requisite academic and professional experience often was more difficult for women than men. One administrator said the best answer he could come up with was that women were playing two roles and men were only playing one. "Men are primarily professional," he said. "Their professional needs tend to come first. Although this situation is changing at least in my observation — and this is borne out by other people I talk to — reasonable numbers of women will still follow their husbands when their professional needs take them somewhere else."

One young administrator said he had had problems dealing with two-career families, especially when the husband had accepted a job elsewhere. Most of the time, he said, families moved when the husband got an offer for a better job, and keeping the wife on his faculty was "not a matter of offering her challenges, trying to make her pay as attractive as I can within our financial limitations, making her teaching load attractive. Those things that usually come into play when dealing with a male don't apply."

Another administrator agreed there were obstacles for women charting their careers. "Women must make great sacrifices to balance their personal and pro-

fessional interests," he said. "It's just assumed that the system should work so men can do this balancing, but not necessarily the women."

Many of the other interviewees claimed that industry employees could outbid colleges and universities for talented women. A female faculty member in a Midwestern program said her department ran into difficulties when it advertised faculty openings. "We get very few women responding," she said. "It looks as if the reason is that the women you would like to have right now, the women who have the media experience plus the academic qualifications, are doing so well in the industry that they are not thinking about moving into academia . . ." Another female faculty member concurred. Many women were finding such good professional positions *and* salaries by comparison to academic ones, she said, that they didn't see any advantage to entering academia.

Similarly, one administrator in an Eastern school said the leaders in the professional marketplace believed they now needed more blacks, Hispanics, and women. Hence, they were offering good salaries. Thus the personnel pool available to communications education, particularly among minorities, was small. "We have trouble hiring women, too, incidentally," he said, "but not quite as much trouble as hiring minorities because we offer a beginning assistant professor with a Ph.D. $21,000 or $22,000. That same person can make $30,000 working for Knight-Ridder. So a lot of job candidates are simply voting with their pocketbooks. And I can't say I blame them."

Another administrator said he had found it simply impossible to "package a deal that's affordable that will attract" some of the women he had wanted to get from other institutions or industry. He recalled, "We've gone after a couple of outstanding people in the industry. Corporations are so short of qualified female executive talent that when we come along and offer an academic salary, the woman is immediately offered a $25,000 raise to stay where she is. The corporate side is out there competing for the same pool of people that we are."

One professionally experienced woman, now teaching, said academic salaries were not "anywhere in the ballpark. A woman of the type that I would like to hire can double her salary in the newspaper business." Another faculty member said that a woman with some professional experience and a doctorate and one who would be an effective teacher "is probably the same type of person who could go into private business or that Gannett would hire and make a publisher."

In line with this, the administrator of an Eastern school said that schools could not "offer their graduates enough money to keep them interested because industry is at the doorstep. A smart woman, with any kind of an academic record, can almost write her own ticket out there." He also noted, however, a more recent phenomenon that countered that. "For the first time in the last year or two, I'm getting calls from people saying 'Have you got any smart men?' And I, and others, give them the standard response, 'Yeah, but we've got some really outstanding women.' [They say,] 'Well, you know we're getting close to 50% here or we're getting close to 60% or 70% . . . and we're worried that we've got to keep the balance up.'"

However, another administrator at a Midwestern university saw women as having rather good opportunities at entry-level professional positions, but he was less sure those opportunities existed at top management levels. "So I would think [women] . . . might find just as much satisfaction, just as much remuneration, in college teaching."

A Southeastern administrator said it was tremendously difficult for his faculty to find women with both practical experience and doctoral degrees. Nevertheless, he said, "I think [women] are able to command a lot, much more than men are able to command as far as position, title, and salary. I would say that today, given three equal applicants, if one is a female, then that is the one who is going to get the job."

Two female interviewees pointed to personal perceptions that they believed contributed to the imbalance. One female

administrator wondered if women didn't react negatively to the stereotypical image of the female schoolteacher. She questioned whether a number of women didn't say to themselves, "I don't want a woman's role. I'd rather be in the business world where I can be respected." The other female interviewee lamented that women's aspirations often were too modest. In many instances women didn't have the confidence that they had the capability to complete graduate programs and become successful faculty members, she said.

**SUMMARY:** While most respondents felt that a balance in the proportions of women faculty and women students was not critical, the importance of hiring more female faculty members generally was stressed because of the importance of role modeling. The arguments presented in favor of role modeling included exposing students to successful women faculty members, as well as providing students with some of the insights, special approaches to problems, or sensitivities that women might offer.

Several reasons were given for the imbalance in the proportions of women faculty and the number of female students. First, most respondents contended that this was a reflection of the past, when male students outnumbered female students. In the communications field, some said, the time lag between the undergraduate degree and the Ph.D. was extended by the intervening need to get professional experience.

A second reason given was the greater amount of "balancing" women often had to do between their personal and professional lives. Some respondents argued that this increased the time lag even more for some women.

Finally, a number of interviewees argued that industry had tried to attract more women and minorities in the last few years and academic institutions had been unable to match the attractive salaries and other benefits available in the communications profession.

## Doctoral Study

***Are women confronted with any special problems as doctoral students preparing for careers in communications education?***

A few of the interviewees said that women did not face any special problems but were, to the contrary, the recipients of special inducements and favors. "We are all just looking frantically [for women]," one male interviewee claimed. Another male administrator said women were mistaken if they supposed that men had "some inside system or someone to help them along in their careers." "The fact is," he said, "most men don't. Men are really much more competitive with each other."

An administrator of a small program saw much more progress in addressing the inequities of the male/female situation than the white/minority situation. "There have probably been more programs addressed to minorities and they have not been nearly as effective," he said. "Although the percentage of women is not equal with the [percentage of] men, the increases show substantial progress. When you start looking at minority figures, you are starting to talk in terms of tenths of a point."

Still, the majority of the interviewees did contend that women faced special problems in preparing themselves to become college communications professors. A common observation was that women were not urged to take up graduate study to the extent men were. One female faculty member scolded her fellow professors for only rarely singling out strong minority or female students and encouraging them to pursue education or research related to communications.

A number of the interviewees complained that subtle discriminatory attitudes pervaded some classrooms and collegial relationships and that female students were sometimes taken less seriously than male students. Still others

pointed to the special family obligations that women often tried to balance with their scholarly and professional activities.

One male interviewee said he had witnessed some stereotyping of women when he was in graduate school in journalism. "I think the women were trapped either way they went," he said. "They were either too soft, too feminine, not tough enough to make it in the news part of the paper. Or, if they were tough, then they got other unflattering labels."

A male administrator said he sensed "in a number of schools, and in some of the strong Ph.D. programs in the country, that there is a tendency on the part of advisers to not always take a female student seriously, figuring that her career decisions, to a greater extent than those of men, will more likely be affected by spouse or associates of some kind, and that she isn't a free agent to the extent that they would like her to be. And, of course, the traditional doctoral adviser who is the rigorous scholar wants the student to make all decisions on the basis of professional values and not really consider the personal side. I think there is a feeling that a woman is less likely to do that than a man."

The general climate surrounding the educational experience also concerned another interviewee. "Do female students get the same kind of informal socialization that male students get?" the female faculty member asked. Her reading of several educational studies, she said, had convinced her that the answer was *no*. "Women don't get the same kind of feedback" nor do they "get the same sort of attention that male students get," she said.

Other interviewees claimed that women were less likely to have mentors than men were. One female faculty member applauded her male faculty adviser, explaining how important he had been to her career, but said that her experience unfortunately had been atypical. Her graduate adviser was not really a mentor, she recalled, but he had always encouraged her, telling her of available jobs and reassuring her that "you don't know that you can't get it." "Basically," she said, "he did what I think any good faculty advisor should do, but that's so rare because of time constraints and other things. He always assumed that whatever I wanted to do, I was going to go out and do."

In terms of aid for graduate students, most interviewees said it was awarded fairly. A few did say that women and minorities, rather than being discriminated against, received special consideration. One woman, however, looked back on her days as a master's student and said that she now believed that there had been "blatant sexual discrimination in assistantship salaries." "Most males were given full graduate assistantships," she explained, "and most females were given half."

The interviewees did not deem doctoral study easy for either sex, but several women faculty members considered it especially hard for women. One said, "Most women looking for intellectual growth as well as personal growth find it impossible to juggle all the obligations of a doctoral program or teaching career and family and still keep their sanity." Another woman described "a student who, after following her husband around for 10 years, decided it was her turn. She moved her family, husband and baby, to graduate school with no income. That's rare. Few husbands would agree [to do that]."

Another women concurred, explaining, "There's a stereotype that it's socially acceptable for a woman to put her husband through a Ph.D. program, but much less acceptable for a man to take a grungy job and relocate to put his wife through. This is a tremendous drawback for the woman who doesn't want to put off marriage and perhaps a family just to enter a doctoral program and teaching."

One female faculty member from a large state university gave a rundown of the years necessary to prepare for a career in communications education. "If you work professionally five or 10 years

before you go into teaching," she said, "then you're 32 or 33 before you begin your Ph.D. Then five years of getting it, so you're 37 or 38 years old, and an assistant professor, and making no money. That doesn't look like a very good deal to many professional women. Women are now providing professional role models . . . and they're in income brackets where they can't afford to go back for a Ph.D. And because of family obligations, they find it even more difficult to give up a profession and salary than men [do]."

**SUMMARY:** Interviewees generally agreed that there were no formal bottlenecks for women attempting to enter or complete Ph.D. programs. However, many perceived difficulties, including the lack of early encouragement, subtle discriminatory attitudes, and problems juggling family, work, and study. All of these factors, they said, combined to make the path to a Ph.D. and a teaching career an arduous one for many women.

## Change Since 1972

***Qualitative and quantitative evidence points to the fact that women found the field of communications education considerably more open and attractive in 1983 than they did in 1972. How do you account for this?***

Many of the interviewees — especially the male administrators — said that women were being treated so much more fairly in the 1980s than they had been in earlier years that the lack of deep concern on the part of the 1983 survey respondents simply reflected the great improvement in conditions for women in communications education. A sizeable group of women faculty, however, attributed some of the lack of concern to wishful thinking. The situation, they said, was not as rosy as many of the respondents might have believed. A majority of the respondents, however, probably found some truth in both positions, seeing sexual discrimination as less prevalent in the 1980s than it had been earlier but still not altogether gone from the scene.

One female professor said that people were more sensitive to the issues in the 1980s than they had been in 1972, when "journalism schools were male schools and the admission of females to that caucus was just not as accepted as it is now." "I don't think that sex discrimination has gone away," she said, "but much of the overt sex discrimination has disappeared."

Several male administrators agreed with her. One said that in the past overt discrimination had not been uncommon for professors of journalism, including some deans who were "worrying constantly that women had no place in journalism." Now, he added, he saw only some "covert discrimination." A second male administrator recalled the time about 10 years ago when a woman might have been one of only four women on a faculty of 50. Now, he said, although the conditions of that woman's particular employment might not have changed, she would be one of some 12 or so out of 50. "The simple fact is," he pointed out, "that she is now surrounded by 11 colleagues instead of three . . . and the feeling of aloneness and separateness, which is really the progenitor of discrimination, is lessened somewhat."

A woman faculty member in a large program looked at the situation philosophically. "I think that one has to have a healthy level of satisfaction combined with a healthy level of dissatisfaction in order to function," she said. "If all the problems were solved, we would become too complacent and not do very much. On the other hand, if there were too many problems facing us, it would be so overwhelming that we could not do very much. So, I think people can be satisfied to a certain extent and still see problems exist."

Several other interviewees were more sanguine that most of the problems with discrimination had been solved. "Why is that?" one male administrator asked. "Well," he said, answering his own question, "maybe there is more concern

in society today about being discriminatory. Maybe we are more liberal thinkers." A second male administrator said, "Things are better and people realize they are. There *are* more women in higher positions. . . . Things are better throughout journalism faculties." "Women have changed their perceptions of themselves," according to a third male administrator. "They now know that they are not cut out just to be mothers and housekeepers."

A fourth male administrator said that a decade ago men might have thought they could prevent women from entering the work force. "Reality has proven it's impossible," he said. Also he saw that women who had been employed had proved to be extremely capable. "I think their competence has simply been accepted," he went on, "and the sex bias that might have been present has been reduced, if not eliminated." Finally, he suggested that a generation gap existed. "I think, too," he went on, "that the younger people going into the profession now, because of the influences of society generally, are less likely to be discriminatory than the older generation — my generation. There is greater acceptance of peers in the sense that assistant professors and associate professors are more likely to accept women at their level than professors, who tend to be older."

Several other interviewees said that older men, especially those whose wives did not work outside the home, were much more likely to discriminate against women than younger men. Both a female faculty member and a younger male administrator suggested that the younger men with professional wives had often had personal experience with discrimination from within their own families. "Our consciousnesses have been raised at home," the administrator said. Another woman faculty member who taught in a Midwestern program said she also knew of one older man who had changed his thinking dramatically because of his daughter. "He used to believe that women were less serious than men," she remarked.

An administrator in a large Midwestern program said he thought faculty women were more satisfied in the 1980s than earlier because recently they had been better able to interweave their personal and professional lives. Many women, he said, "have adjusted their lifestyles in order to accomplish things professionally. They don't marry; they live in looser arrangements. They don't have children, or they put off having children. Or they get divorced. Or they enter into more contractual arrangements with men, whereby the men share a lot of the responsibilities that traditionally women had been expected to pick up. So I assume that helps account for why they are more satisfied. I think psychologically women were more torn earlier. They had all the obligations and restraints of the old societal molds, but they had all the expectations of the new molds. That was bound to cause frustration and unhappiness."

A number of the female interviewees who were well established as educators in communications insisted that in general the survey respondents were guilty of overestimating the progress that had been made. One woman who has been especially active in the AEJMC said, "I don't know how people could be in this field and not feel that discrimination was a problem. I think either they were ignorant and blissfully breezing along, thinking that nothing was going to happen to them, or else they think the people it has happened to brought it on themselves." A female professor who began teaching later in life said that although many female faculty and students did not perceive discrimination as happening to them generally, "if you ask for particulars, you get concrete examples of sex discrimination."

Several of the female interviewees considered the lack of great concern about discrimination shared by many who participated in the 1983 survey to be the manifestation of naiveté on the respondents' part. The female interviewees seemed to believe that those newest to teaching tended to be the most satisfied although that supposition was not directly confirmed by the 1983 survey. "Some of the women out there, especially the younger ones," one woman administrator

said, "don't even recognize sex discrimination. I listen to women at AEJ meetings say things like, 'women used to have a hard time, but men now are much more open. . . . We're not going to have a very hard time. We're not discriminated against.'" These statements, she said, were "very naive."

Another experienced female academic said that some women had not been in college teaching long enough to see exactly what was going on. "The longer you are on the job as a woman, the higher you get, the more you look around, the more you open your ears, the less satisfied you become." Many new female assistant professors, according to another woman, were so delighted to have their jobs that they did not want to be critical. They say, she explained, "'Well, at least I'm here.'" At that stage, she suggested, they had not yet had the opportunity to experience struggles in tenure and promotion, to see salary differences, or to experience subtle discrimination. On the other hand, she added, "the situation *has* improved a lot. It's nowhere near as bad as earlier."

Another woman from a large Midwestern university described what she called "The Queen Bee Syndrome," which she saw as explaining the behavior of many female professors under the age of 35. The queen bee, she said, is "the only female around, and she honestly believes she made it on her own. She is surrounded by adoring males and doesn't care about other women. She rationalizes about those other, less fortunate women. 'If they were just as good as I am,' she says, 'they would have gotten where I've gotten and wouldn't be complaining.'" The queen bee sees the problems experienced by these unsuccessful women, the interviewee went on, as evidence of their faults. "After all, the queen bee believes she has gotten where she has gotten on her own."

But women in communications education in the 1980s have not gotten where they are on their own, most of the female interviewees stressed. As one put it, these women are the "beneficiaries of some people who fought very hard and went through a lot of pain." They have been preceded, she continued, by some women who had "distinctive experiences" in the 1960s and 1970s both in general and in communications education. "I can think of specific women who were in the vanguard and fought for all of us," the interviewee said. "They fought the fight and fought it so effectively that it is no longer socially acceptable, or academically acceptable, or considered acceptable professional practice for discrimination to be visible."

**SUMMARY:** While many interviewees said that the high satisfaction level among 1983 questionnaire respondents reflected an actual decrease in or the disappearance of sexual discrimination, others said that discrimination still existed and that the questionnaire responses reflected the misconceptions of younger, more naive faculty women. The majority, however, said that although the situation had improved, a number of problems still existed. Several saw age as a factor, with the younger male faculty members being viewed as more receptive to the idea of sexual equality than male faculty were in the past and than many of the older male faculty were in the 1980s.

## Equal Rights Movement

***Have the equal rights movement and the affirmative action programs that grew out of it played significant roles?***

The interviewees agreed that both the equal rights movement in general and affirmative action programs in particular had helped to open up the field of communications education to more women. Both had led to the regularization of hiring and employment practices, they said. One male adminsitrator of a large program described the impact as "tremendous." However, many of the interviewees had mixed feelings about affirmative action programs, saying they had engendered not only progress but also problems. Perhaps the response of one administrator was typical. Affirmative action, he said, is "an encumbrance but a necessary encumbrance."

As a result of both the women's movement and affirmative action programs, according to one male interviewee, "all kinds of organizations are sensitive to [discrimination] that never were before." "For instance," he went on, "if an accrediting team comes in, they're likely to look at the racial and sexual balance of the faculty." The administrator of a Southwestern program said he was not sure that affirmative action had really forced the hiring of women at his institution, but it had forced everyone to realize that women were in the marketplace. "Certainly it has been effective in consciousness raising," he explained, "making people think about it [discrimination] and accept . . . that women are going to enter the work force *and* that they are competent."

Those who saw affirmative action programs as having been successful often pointed to changed hiring practices. The head of a large communications program said that affirmative action had achieved its goal because job searches were now more structured. Job criteria and hiring procedures had been established so that specific individuals were no longer being overlooked, he continued. Another administrator said the way positions were advertised had changed dramatically. Previously, he said, members of search committees would just call the graduate studies directors at five schools or so and ask, "Who are your best people?"

A couple of other interviewees thought that changes in hiring and employment practices were not exactly in a cause-and-effect relationship with the women's movement and affirmative action. A professional newswoman who is now teaching saw wives rather than regulations as having changed their husbands' opinions and actions, at least in the field of journalism. "Newspersons," she said, "tend to be more liberal than conservative and to have wives with similar views. I think you have had wives involved in ERA and men becoming sensitive to these issues because of that." An administrator from the Northeast expressed a similar opinion when he said that changes in the field of communications education were less a matter of compulsion and legislation than a matter of "better administrators just simply realizing that it is the right thing to do — that it is better for the students, better for faculty colleagues, and better for recruitment and retention." "There are a lot of selfish reasons for wanting a diverse faculty," he said.

One woman suggested that both informal and formal forces had been responsible for the changes. "Men may be afraid that women now have the power to force compliance through complaints and that they won't put up with [discrimination] anymore," she said. It's also possible that men are getting used to women colleagues and are just more sensitive than they were 10 years ago."

The problem with affirmative action programs, in the opinion of the administrators, was that they involved a lot of work and they did not necessarily lead to the hiring of the most highly qualified job applicants. And a couple of the female interviewees complained that some women had not received full recognition for their accomplishments because there was a tendency on the part of observers to attribute women's successes to affirmative action programs rather than to qualities such as talent or hard work.

One administrator said, "We do go through a lot of needless work in searches. And I'm not sure that we necessarily go after the best person for the job because of affirmative action restrictions. People get frightened to really pursue someone they want. They simply put out notices and wait for applications to come in, and that is not a good way to recruit." This administrator contended that one of an administrator's duties "should be to seek out and find the very best talent possible." "Even if you have an established national reputation," he said, "that does not guarantee that talent is going to come to your doorstep and beg for positions." Because affirmative action discourages networking among colleagues at other institutions, "I have to be very careful how I go about it," he added.

The administrator of a medium-sized program in the Northeast said that in order to hire a minority or female candidate his school had looked at individuals who were not fully prepared for the jobs they were seeking. "It is not likely that we would hire a white male who is 40 years old who did not have a Ph.D.," he said.

A third administrator, also from the Northeast, pointed out other difficulties, especially in regard to the hiring of racial minorities. He explained, "Corporations are sometimes afraid to hire [women and minorities] because they know that you can't just let them go the way you can somebody else." He also noted that it was still possible for women to get jobs "and then find themselves in over their heads more quickly . . . than their peers who happen to be male." He described what he called a kaleidoscopic effect. Things that look one way can suddenly change, he said. Some people, he explained, say "'Let's get them [women] in here. Let's don't worry too much if they are adequately trained. Let's give them lots of responsibility.'" And then, he asserted, "these people are leading the cheering section when the women fail."

Two of the female interviewees looked at problems with affirmative action from a different perspective. Although the examples they gave were from the newspaper profession, they questioned whether or not the same was true in communications education. One recalled her promotion to newspaper management. Although she was convinced that she was the best-qualified person for the job, she said, there were those who said she only got it because she was a woman. "It's a nasty kind of thing," she said, "because even if you have been chosen, you still have to fight that prejudice, particularly from the other people who wanted the job."

Another woman said that being a woman was a real plus when she had been promoted into newspaper management. "I think I would have had a lot more trouble getting the job had I been a man," she conceded. "Of course the other side of that is that once they [employers] get their little quota, things haven't changed that much."

**SUMMARY:** The consensus among interviewees was that the equal rights movement and affirmative action programs had had positive effects on university employment policies and, consequently, on the higher satisfaction level of questionnaire respondents. Still, many administrators found compliance with affirmative action procedures to be burdensome and some women charged that women sometimes got less credit than they deserved for their accomplishments because of affirmative action.

## Salary

***Despite being generally satisfied with their jobs, a majority of survey respondents did indicate that women in communications education faced certain inequities. For instance, 70 percent of the respondents saw discrimination in salary as a problem. How valid was this perception?***

Most interviewees perceived that female faculty were indeed paid less than men across the country. As one administrator of a small program put it, "When all things are controlled, there is a salary differential — less in some schools, more in other schools — but certainly perceived by the women who were respondents."

Nonetheless, both the men and women who were interviewed generally said that, while inequities might exist elsewhere, salaries were awarded fairly at their own institutions, where women were hired with the same pay and given the same raises as equally qualified men. A number of the male administrators said that women were often hired at higher salaries than equally qualified men.

The salary disparities noted by the interviewees usually were attributed to differences in qualifications and years of service or else to women's inability or inexperience in negotiating for money. Only a few blamed salary differences on

discrimination. A common response was that women had been paid less than men in the past and that the effects of these past problems were still distorting the statistics.

"There have been discrepancies, past disparities, past inequities," one administrator of a large program said, "but I think these are changing." In his own program, he said, the women hired in the past five or six years were "doing as well as, if not better than, men." In the past they may have been perceived as the second breadwinners in their families or as less competent than men, but that certainly had changed, he said. "We have done our best to try to see to it that everybody is getting the same salary for the same amount of work," he said.

Another administrator said he had not heard comments like "Sally doesn't need a lot of money," or "she's really making pin money," or "her husband has a good job downtown" in 15 years.

A Midwestern administrator also said that in the past there had been salary discrepancies but that "most schools and departments have tried to rectify these imbalances." The data from his school, he said, showed that "generally females, from a percentage standpoint, have gotten slightly higher raises than men as a result of trying to perform some catch-up."

Two administrators at schools where the faculties were unionized spoke of the advantages and disadvantages of dealing with union contracts. One said that at his school there was very little differential in salary for any reason. "Most assistant professors," he said, "make very much the same amount, most associates about the same and so on up the line. There is, of course, a built-in discrimination, one supposes, on net salary because most women have entered the faculties more recently than the men. . . . So, almost by definition, the women — or any newcomers to the faculty — end up in the lower and middle ranges of the scale rather than at the top, simply because they are at the rank of assistant or associate rather than full professor."

The other administrator who had had experience working with a union contract noted that every faculty member at his school was paid according to the qualifications he or she brought to the job. As a result, some women had started lower because they had not brought in some of the qualifications that men had. The problem, he said, was that "the salary that you eventually receive is based on your entry salary. So if you are hired with lesser qualifications, you are given a lesser salary. We have people who, since we hired them, have raised their qualifications and deserve more money but they must go into a grievance situation in order to raise their salaries. There isn't anything that we can do about it. We're tied to a union contract. All I can do is sign onto the grievance and say, 'Yes, I believe that this is deserved.' I can't control salaries and my [superior] can't either, for that matter. Our hands are tied."

Another administrator spoke of the policies in his program that provided specific increments with increases in rank. He was pleased with the system, he said, because he felt it tended to prevent discriminatory situations. A woman faculty member from his institution agreed that women and men there progressed at the same rate, and that she had not experienced the kinds of discrimination that individuals in other places reported. Another woman who had taught for some time said there were no inequalities in salary for women in the three universities at which she had taught. One woman where she was currently teaching was paid more than men at the same level, she said.

The administrator of a medium-sized program also indicated he would offer a female candidate more money to induce her to take the job. He would, he said, "have to pay not less but more than another institution that has a doctoral program." He compared his situation to that of the small and medium-sized newspapers that train employees and then lose them to larger news operations that pay higher salaries.

One woman at a Midwestern school said she believed that faculty women earned less than men because many women were "beginners and haven't been on faculties as long." She suggested that many women had started out lower than men because some administrators had seen men as supporting families and thus needing more money than women. However, she said, "because many colleges, especially state universities, have given very few raises to any faculty in the last few years, women have been stuck with small percentage increases. Everyone gets just a small percentage increase across the board. So it's hard to play catch-up if you're a woman caught in one of these situations." She also said she thought that "at higher levels, there may be more equity. Women administrators, for instance, may be paid the same as males." She was convinced that "leadership at the top sets the tone for salaries . . . Unless you have supportive administrators, it's very hard to accomplish much. Change has to come from the top down."

Several interviewees mentioned a traditional reward system that worked to the advantage of faculty members who were willing and able to bargain in order to improve their salaries. Several women speculated that perhaps the reason many women earned lower salaries is that they did not understand and use the system as well as men.

Women did receive "lots of pats on the back" and compliments about their doing a great job, said one faculty woman, but that support was not reflected in academic salaries, she claimed.

One woman who taught at a large institution wondered whether women might not be less active than men in seeking to improve their salaries. Salary increases in her institution, she said, came through promotion and tenure and through receiving outside offers. Maybe women didn't understand, she speculated, that the best way to get a substantial raise was to use outside offers as negotiating leverage. Women, she went on, may fail to pursue such outside job opportunities. "It may be that because a woman knows that her husband is tied to a particular job in a community, she sees it as a game," she said. "'Why should I in my right mind go out and look for another job when I have no intention of taking another job?' she may ask herself. A man can do that more often than a *woman because he's the only worker in* the family, or maybe his is the primary career in the family. He could do that and people would believe that he would leave, even when he had no intention of doing so." Men did bully and negotiate in some cases, where women did not, agreed a woman who taught in a small program.

A female faculty member in another small program felt that graduate students were not adequately prepared to evaluate the reasonableness of initial offers and to negotiate salaries. She referred to her own naiveté in dealing with her first job offer. She considered starting salaries to be the key because raises in universities were based on percentage increases in base salaries. She went on to say that employers "will pay you what they can get away with paying you. And unfortunately, salary is a reflection of perceived worth and there may be some vestiges in the idea that [female faculty] aren't worth quite as much as male faculty."

An administrator, on the other hand, said he had found that women understood the reward system. "They are much more systematic about it," he said. "A lot of men just bumble into the academy and shuffle from one rank to another or even down in the process. They don't think about it, it seems to me, in the same kind of way. I have found that the women I have dealt with tend to want to know, 'What do I have to do?' or rather specifically, 'What is it going to take to get promoted at Stanford, or Minnesota, or Indiana, or Syracuse? What's been the track record? Who's made it?'" He noted that through his activities in AEJMC, he gets frequent calls from female faculty members and Ph.D. students who ask what he knows about a particular school and its reward system in terms of promotion or salary.

**SUMMARY:** Although the interviewees acknowledged that men in communications education did outearn their female counterparts, most said that starting salaries and raises were now being awarded fairly and that past differentials were in the process of being rectified. In fact, several of the administrators said that, if there were any discrepancies now, it was in the women's favor, at least in terms of starting salaries. Because hiring women was difficult, they said, women were able to command higher salaries than comparable men. Still, several of the interviewees did discuss special difficulties they associated with women and their salaries.

## Administrative Positions

***Some 68 percent of the survey respondents associated the scarcity of female administrators with sexual discrimination. How valid was this perception? Are women adequately represented in communications education administration? If not, why?***

Nearly all of the interviewees concurred that women were, in fact, underrepresented in administrative ranks. Several looked upon university management, especially at its upper levels, as virtually a "men's club." The majority made the same observation about female administrators that they had made about female full professors: most women, they said, had joined communications faculties too recently to be ready or qualified to assume administrative responsibilities. As one man put it, "It takes a long time to produce an administrator." "The pool of qualified women isn't large enough," another said. One of the women commented that in a recent search for a department head at her school, not a single qualified woman had applied. An administrator said that his sense was that the "most vigorous women these days in journalism education are perhaps in their early 30s to probably early 40s" "Administrators," he went on, "for the most part tend to come from the age of 45 on up."

However, while only a few interviewees associated sexual discrimination with the issues of salary, promotion, and tenure, a large number of both male and female interviewees did contend that sexual discrimination played a role in preventing women from becoming administrators. Both men and women, various interviewees said, were affected by a cultural sexual stereotype in which men were the independent, dominant, and superior sex and women the dependent, subordinate, and inferior sex. This perception, interviewees explained, caused many men (particularly those older than 50) to reject the idea that women could be competent adminstrators and to resent working for women. At the same time it caused women to fail to recognize, value, or nurture any leadership abilities they might have.

Academia has traditionally been male-dominated, the administrator of a large program pointed out. Although changes were being made in the balance of professors, he said, "I think it is very difficult for males to look at females as being as administratively competent as the males are. I think that is changing, but much more slowly than the faculty situation is changing. I think that the only way it will change and continue to change is for women to prove competency in administrative positions." One woman said she thought it was simply that "male administrators don't want to give power to women."

However, one female administrator said that the way in which a female administrator was regarded depended largely upon the people in question. "If you are perceived as being really serious about your job, if you do your homework, if everything you submit is like everybody else's, if in a crisis you behave like any other administrator," she said, "then most men begin to see you as just one other administrator and you are taken seriously. Of course, some don't perceive women seriously at all."

Other interviewees spoke about how social and cultural patterns had caused faculty women to be less interested in or less qualified for administrative jobs. "Women have, of course, been socialized

to be passive and submissive," one of the female interviewees said, "and administration requires someone who is aggressive. The whole socialization process does everything it possibly can to keep women from being aggressive and to teach women how to please and to serve." One of the female administrators who was interviewed admitted that she had been affected by this almost invisible sexism. "I like administration very much," she explained, "and should have done it 10 years earlier, but it never crossed my mind."

A second female administrator wondered whether most women saw themselves as working in careers or merely as working in jobs. She described a career person as someone who followed the field avidly and ordered his or her time by the requirements of the job. She suggested that for most women the "investment is in themselves and not in their employers." She speculated that this might be an outgrowth of the socialization process. "Careers aren't that acceptable," she said, "but it is okay to have a job."

Women's perceptions of administrative jobs interested several of the interviewees. One male administrator said a number of women he knew, especially young women, had been appalled when they had been contacted about administrative openings. "They tell me, 'My God, that's so inappropriate. I'm an assistant professor and they want me to be an applicant, to be a token.' In a couple of situations, I know that these women were not wanted as tokens but as genuine candidates, and they were willing to take a younger person, because they really did want a woman." In the end, he said, "The women chose not to apply. I think probably they made the right choice because they wanted to do some other things. They felt they needed to develop. They didn't want to be administrators at the age of 32 or 34 without having done anything else at that point. And I don't blame them."

An administrator of a large program in the East reported having had similar experiences. He said he had found that most faculty members, but especially women, saw the rewards of administering far less appealing than those of teaching. "A lot of women that I know," he said, "seem genuinely horrified by the kind of job academic administration appears to them to be — that is, much less contact with the students, much more paper shuffling, much more bureaucracy, much more interpersonal conflict (hiring and firing and telling people that they can't have what they want). When I meet with members of my faculty and say that, since I am not going to be chairman forever, I would like them to start thinking about replacing me at some point, all of them, male and female, run in horror at the thought. But it seems that the women run slightly faster."

Several interviewees analyzed the kind of work administrators did to see if women were suited and qualified for it. In line with this, one male administrator brought up what he saw as a paradox. The qualities valued by members of search committees when they went about filling administrative positions, he said, were not necessarily the qualities that made people effective administrators. In his opinion, although women often fell short when it came to the criteria set forth by search committees, they often possessed the qualities necessary to succeed in administration. Speaking particularly of deanships, this administrator said that search committees wanted to consider candidates who had academic credentials. But they also wanted applicants about whom they could say, "Well, he worked for *The New York Times* for 18 years." "If you measured these criteria against what a dean actually does," he went on, "the weaknesses emerge. Being dean is primarily a PR job of diplomatic relations. . . . Maybe 10 percent of the typical dean's time [is spent] with the news media, and the news media will accept anyone who is cordial to them." Women were excluded, he said, because they tended not to have the "merit badges" to the same extent as men did.

In his opinion, then, search committees de-emphasized qualities that were crucial. He described the No. 1 quality as

"intellectual leadership," which required people who were bright in their fields. The other major quality, he said, was "academic leadership in terms of how you get things done within a university, how you negotiate and get resources for your people." He commented, "I think women are more capable in the intellectual and academic leadership areas, yet those are not the valued qualities. I think this is changing in some places, but not fast enough."

A female faculty interviewee said she believed that female administrators often had different priorities than male administrators. "I think women may bring a different sense of how to make decisions," she said. "I think that women in many instances might be less authoritarian. The models that women develop for administration, it seems to me, might also be less efficient — which goes against the whole American tradition — but more humane. I frankly don't think many men are ready for that. And I don't mean men simply as individuals, but men as parts of institutions. There are a lot of institutional structures that need efficiency more than they need humane management. I think that's going to be a slow process to change."

Another administrator spoke about the slowness of change. "One kind of struggles with the idea that we need to bring about dramatic change quickly," he said, "but we have to temper that with the patience that reality demands. You need experience to be an administrator, and women are just now starting to get that experience. It's happening, but it's happening more slowly than perhaps we would like."

One administrator with experience at several schools said he thought administrations were changing but for the wrong reasons. University administrators, he said, wanted female deans because they were under scrutiny for the number of women they had at all administrative levels. "I think they want visibility," he said. "They want to be able to say 'I've got eight Nobel Prize winners . . . five women deans and a partridge in a pear tree.' So I think for all the wrong reasons, purely for reasons of some kind of institutional vanity, it's a great time for women to be candidates for deanships. I think that there is probably more interest at higher administrative levels than there is in faculties."

One faculty woman from a small Western program was less confident about any change. "I see a lot of women sitting on committees that should prepare them for administration, but I don't see anyone moving up," she said.

**SUMMARY:** On the issue of women in the field of communications education administration, the interviewees were in broad agreement. Men, they said, dominated the field to a disproportionate degree. There also was general agreement about the reasons for this. Most said women simply had not been on faculties long enough to be groomed for or to be advanced to administrative jobs. In addition, a large number of the interviewees pointed to gender stereotypes, which, they said, made it difficult for men to accept or appreciate women in leadership roles and also made it difficult for women to seek, qualify for, or be successful in administrative posts. A few suggested that women generally were less interested than men in administrative work. Most of the interviewees saw the situation as changing slowly, with more and more women entering administrative ranks all the time.

## Promotion and Tenure

***Some 65 percent of the survey respondents saw discrimination in promotion as a problem and another 61 percent said the same about tenure. How valid were these perceptions and also the perception on the part of some of the respondents that women often were promoted less quickly than men?***

Although many interviewees did not believe that sexual discrimination entered into promotion and tenure decisions,

about half did believe that women were promoted *less quickly* for a variety of reasons. It took women longer than men to be promoted, several said, because of family obligations, or faculty committee and advising assignments, or because of their preoccupation with teaching at the expense of research activities. Some said they thought that the slowness in promotion had less to do with gender than it did with the current academic situation. The administrator of a large program said it was difficult for any faculty member — man or woman — to get tenure. "The people who have come along lately have had a much harder time than people who came along 10 years ago," he claimed. A faculty woman commented that both men and women were "being moved along more slowly now because the job market is tighter, because there have been increases in enrollment and cutbacks in faculty."

In general, then, as in the case of salary, there was little talk of discrimination directly affecting promotion and tenure decisions. A female administrator said she would be astonished if there were inequalities in tenure and promotion based on sex. It had not existed at the three universities where she had worked, she said. The male administrator of a large Eastern program agreed. "There's great pressure on all of us to move women along," he said.

Another administrator of a large program also saw no discrimination at his institution although he conceded that without question sex or the role of a woman in the family could have been factors at one time. However, currently at his university, he said, women were being promoted "every bit as rapidly as men and I can honestly say that there is no sexual discrimination in promotion or salary increase here. I think that is probably true in most places. . . . I would like to believe that it is. I really can't believe that budget councils, or advisory committees on promotion or what have you, consider the maleness or the femaleness of the person in [making] salary and promotion [decisions]. I can't believe that that exists any longer. It undoubtedly does in some places, but I don't think any major places."

Women were promoted earlier than men if they were marketable, said the administrator of a Western program. He explained, "Any woman who is relatively visible in the field and has good credentials and is productive can generate offers from other institutions. In so doing, she becomes a retention case at her own school and most universities have the capability to increase salary at that point and sometimes to offer early promotion and tenure." Another male administrator agreed that the fastest way to get promoted and probably tenured was to receive an offer from another institution that the home school would then counter.

Several men and women looked at delays in women's tenure and promotion and tried to account for any discrepancies on the basis of a variety of circumstances.

One administrator of a large program said he felt it did take women longer to advance because women tended to have more outside commitments and to have taken time out to have families. This is changing, he said, but "There are still women who are juggling a lot. When there are divorces, or when there are children born out of wedlock, usually the women raise the children. So that puts a lot of demands on them. They're changing diapers, taking kids to swimming lessons and ballet lessons and all that, as well as trying to do research."

An administrator of a Western program wondered if women did not automatically assume discrimination when they were promoted less quickly than they would like, while men did not. He did, however, think there was an important issue that most people avoided facing, the issue of children. "We can't just say to women," he asserted, "'Biologically you will have the child and you will bear full cost for it [in terms of] career, your own satisfaction, whatever.'"

One woman faculty member who had served on promotion and tenure committees both on the school and campus levels saw far fewer problems with women's promotion and tenure decisions than with their salaries. She did not think it took

longer for women to be promoted. However, she did think that women may have brought inequities on themselves to some extent. She said some women spent "a lot of their time advising when they could be doing research. . . ." Women who have strong research interests, "once they can get away from having such a heavy load and lots of committees and all of that," should advance as fast as men, she added.

Several other women spoke of their concerns about how women spent their time and energy.

One did not see discrimination when women's portfolios were presented to tenure and promotion committees but did see it "in things like committee assignments and teaching assignments — those things that build a good track record for promotion or tenure." She explained, "The dean may say he had intended to appoint you to an important committee but because the committee meets at 4 p.m. and you have to pick up kids at school, he didn't assign you because you couldn't make the meetings. He didn't even ask . . . and if he had, you'd have been able to work something out. So women are often denied access to the pipeline that leads to a better record for promotion and tenure."

A woman in a Midwestern program noted that frequently women saw themselves more as teachers than researchers. "Women continue to accept the burden of the nurturing role," she said, "and, because they do, they are more likely to see teaching as a more important activity than research. Students reinforce that role. They are much more comfortable interrupting 'mother' than 'father.' So they bring their troubles to female faculty members." She also contended that because women often had greater language skills, they were given more courses that required a lot of grading, thus draining their creative capacities.

Her concern about student perceptions was echoed by another female faculty member in a Midwestern program. "Students don't take female faculty members as seriously as they take male faculty members," she said. "I think they automatically think that the women are going to be more sympathetic and more understanding with them and should spend more time with them than male faculty members. They are more willing to presume upon a woman's time and take up more of a woman's energy with problems than they might with a male. If a woman succumbs to this kind of pressure," the interviewee continued, "she is not going to have a lot of time left for research. And she really has to know from the beginning how to balance [her time] so she can move up in the ranks."

One faculty woman in a large Midwestern program argued that it was harder for women to know exactly what was required for promotion. "There are fewer role models among women faculty, and men aren't likely to share with women colleagues because they're not part of the club," she said. "Men are benevolent patronizers of women, but there's no real sharing of strategies. I guess it's hard for men to seriously advise and counsel the women they pinch on the butt."

A woman who taught in a large Northeastern program disagreed. As a junior faculty member, she said, she had found both men and women to be very willing to give advice. "All you have to do is ask. Sometimes I think men are just waiting to pass on their knowledge, to see deserving women get ahead. They're flattered that you approached them."

**SUMMARY:** The overwhelming majority of interviewees did not see sexual discrimination as directly affecting promotion and tenure decisions. About half of the interviewees, however, did say that on the average it took women longer to be promoted that it did men. This lag was associated in some cases with women's heavy family commitments and in others with their lack of knowledge about how to build strong promotion credentials. Mentioned by several of the interviewees was the practice on the part of a number of women of devoting so much time and energy to their teaching that little was left for research. A few interviewees also criticized administrators for not selecting female faculty for the significant committee assignments that impress promotion committees.

## Subtle Discriminatory Attitudes

***Some 59 percent of the survey respondents who answered the section on college teaching indicated they believed that because of subtle discriminatory attitudes women had to work harder than men to gain the respect of their colleagues. How valid was this perception? Are women treated paternalistically? Are they taken less seriously than their male counterparts?***

The male and female interviewees had generally different views about subtle sexual discrimination. Only a few of the men said they were aware of discrimination, subtle or otherwise, on their faculties; whereas almost all the women not only said they were aware of subtle discrimination but also proceeded to cite examples. Several of the women said women were, indeed, taken less seriously than men. Other women pointed to problems with what they considered to be sexist jokes and language. A couple of men appeared to be genuinely perplexed about how men should act in terms of traditional courtesies. They seemed to want to be gentlemanly without offending their female colleagues and wondered if this were possible.

One administrator of a large Midwestern program, who joined most of his fellow male interviewees in saying that subtle discrimination did not exist at his school, said he did not look upon individuals on his faculty as men or women but as faculty members. "I haven't noticed women are discriminated against at the meetings I attend," he said. "I don't find people gathering around later and saying, 'that dumb broad had a stupid idea.' The women I run into in the university at large, and certainly on my own faculty, I have tremendous respect for."

Attitudes were changing about relationships of male and female professionals, said another administrator of a large program. He found that the newly hired female faculty members, especially, acted professionally and were so treated by others. "They are assertive," he said. "They think of themselves as professionals, as professors and not as women on the job. Those of us who are older and accustomed to opening doors for people and throwing coats down over pools of water and so on are probably still likely to open doors, but I don't think that is happening much anymore either."

An administrator in a large Western program spoke of specific women at his institution on whom he relied heavily for advice. Several women at his school had been elected to positions of leadership and had influenced group decisions, he said, adding, "I just don't think they are taken less seriously at all."

The administrator of a medium-sized program, who said "women here do not have to work harder to gain the respect of male faculty members," suggested that some women might mistakenly perceive themselves as being excluded when actually they were not.

A couple of male interviewees, however, concurred with the women about subtle discrimination. The first said that the deans and graduate directors were sometimes guilty of acting paternalistically toward women. The second said he was "sure that dozens of slurs occur, some intended and some unintended." Their seriousness, he went on, depended "on the sensitivity of the female faculty." Occasionally, he said, someone would say something, either intentionally or unintentionally, that would create hard feelings. He concluded that it would be "a long time before the world was rid of subtle discriminatory attitudes."

Several of the female interviewees said that it was because the incidence of outright sexual discrimination had been reduced that subtle discriminatory practices had become more of an issue recently. One of them said that because men no longer dared to be blatantly discriminatory, "all the discrimination I'm talking about is subtle." "It's hard to prove," she said, "hard to put your finger on. If

people are honest, they'll admit that it's going on. It happens when the review board and personnel committees look over a candidate's records in the department. If they don't understand the journals that women are publishing in or something, then, boy, they must not be reputable.... Women have two choices: either to do the traditional stuff and don't make any waves, or to fight."

A second female interviewee echoed this sentiment. "Overt discrimination has been reduced," she said, "leaving the less obvious kind of discrimination, which is hard to prove or substantiate." Another interviewee said that as a result of federal legislation and other things "the universities have cleaned up their act, so to speak" and that she had "never felt discriminated against on salary or promotion." But, she added, "there are attitudes, usually from one's peers."

A fourth female interviewee tried to explain the situation this way: "Men are trying very hard to be broadminded and intellectually fair. Intellectually they support equality for women, and they support integration of women on their faculties; but emotionally and psychologically, they haven't changed. That's why the discrimination now is very subtle discrimination."

A fifth woman analyzed the situation by saying what other interviewees said in response to other questions — that there were generational differences. One of her superiors in his 60s treated her paternalistically, she said, but younger male faculty members did not. Other women complained that faculty women were sometimes treated paternalistically, were taken less seriously than men, were not challenged to the same extent as men, and were excluded or overlooked when it came to extending invitations to professional and social events.

A woman in a small program insisted that she had always had to do more than her male colleagues to earn the respect of her male administrators. She said that everyone says "this does not happen here, but every time I have worked for a new male department head, I have had to prove myself again. He wouldn't just take me for granted as a competent person. I have had to prove myself — get another paper published or get another set of outstanding teaching evaluations. But the males on the faculty haven't had to do that. They have just been accepted as competent by the administration. I have no idea why that is. The only thing that I can think of is vestiges of sexism."

One female administrator complained about the attitude of some male students from other countries. "We have some international students who don't like to be taught by a woman and they freely admit it," she said. "They don't like this program being run by a woman."

One woman from the Southwest said she thought geography affected men's attitudes. "I got my job here despite the fact that I'm a woman, not because I am one," she said. "Institutions don't know how to deal with you. I think there's a subtle discrimination in which men don't always demand enough of women. They aren't tough enough on young women. It's possible that young women don't develop fully. I was fortunate because I was pushed and tugged all the way."

Another woman recalled attending a conference at which two out of 30 people on the program were women, compared to no women five years ago. "Men are used to having their own club, and therefore they think of their own friends — who of course are male — when it comes time to select participants for invitational conferences, committees, or any program they're working on," she said. "I don't think men are maliciously excluding women, but the fact that women are excluded is still sexist and still discriminatory and still keeps women in their place."

Men tended to socialize together outside the workplace, too, observed two women, whether to camp or play golf or have lunch. One woman in a small program said it was difficult to join a group of male colleagues for lunch, for example, even though she probably would be welcome. The other woman, an administrator, said, "I'm not playing golf with the men or working out with them so I don't hear some of the informal information." She commented that "a lot of decision-making

goes on before anybody gets to a meeting. I don't think men perceive that as being exclusive."

One woman in a Midwestern program had been disturbed by some letters of recommendation she had read for faculty applicants. Perhaps the worst one she had seen, she said, hastening to add that it had not been written by a communications educator, read something like, "It is hard to believe that such a beautiful, sexy woman could be as intelligent as she is." She had wanted to have the letter sent back to its author with a request that a new letter be written. However, the chairman of the search committee had refused to comply. Another recommendation comment she had seen as a blatant lack of respect for a female applicant, she related, read something like, "She is not a women's libber and so she will be able to get along with the faculty."

Several female interviewees complained that they often were addressed less deferentially than their male colleagues. Two women noted that students and clerical staff often called them by their first names but addressed male faculty members as "doctor" or "professor." Another interviewee said she considered it discrimination when she was identified not as a colleague but as somebody's wife. However, she added, this was happening less frequently as time went on.

Jokes and other types of verbal discrimination were mentioned by some of the other women who were interviewed. A faculty member in a medium-sized program said several female graduate students had complained to her about sexist language and jokes made at an AEJMC regional conference. One interviewee from the West, who saw that section of the country as being male-dominated with women filling very traditional roles, recalled an incident that had annoyed her. A male employee of a large public relations firm, she related, had returned to speak with students at his alma mater. When asked about the hardest adjustment he had had to make in the work place, she said, "his immediate response was, 'working with all those women!'" A third female interviewee said that, although some words infuriated her, she tried not to let herself get upset. In the end, she said, it was how a person behaved, rather than what he said, that was important.

Despite the problems with subtle sexual discrimination that the female interviewees saw within academia, a couple of them said the situation was worse in the professional world.

One faculty member in a mid-sized program said several of her women students had observed a difference when they had left school and entered the work place. She explained, "They felt discrimination and harassment that they were not prepared for. I heard from one last week who's leaving — she's in television production — because she said that she could not face that kind of setting. It's not what she anticipated."

Another woman in a small program agreed. "Unfortunately," she said, "in the journalism job market, males still have the edge. Many of the management positions are held by men, many of whom are still traditional. Fewer women are hired, and those who are may not necessarily get the plum assignments. If you have a male and female graduate with equal qualifications, the male will invariably get the job." Then, she added, "In the job itself, women still get frustrated because of discrimination — paternalistic attitudes."

Several of the male interviewees indicated that it was not always easy for men to determine what constituted paternalistic behavior. The women who were interviewed did not offer particularly clear guidance on that distinction. Two women faculty members remarked on how sympathetically they had been treated by men when they had been pregnant. They had not seen this concern as paternalism but rather as well-intentioned kindness. However, it was obvious that at least some of the other female interviewees would have been somewhat less receptive to this kind of attention.

**SUMMARY:** While most of the men who were interviewed did not see subtle

sexually discriminatory attitudes and actions as a problem, almost all of the women did. The women cited instances in which they said women had been treated paternalistically, had been taken less seriously than comparable men, had been ignored when it had come to planning both professional and social activities, and had been the object of various types of subtle verbal disparagement. In addition, there was some confusion on the part of the men and some differences among the women as to how women did and should react to traditional gentlemanly behavior.

## The Future

***What kind of future do you see for women in communications education? Is sexual discrimination a problem of the past?***

A large majority of the interviewees agreed that in the coming years the number of women in the field of communications education was almost certain to continue to increase. A few even dared to predict that women would constitute the majority of communications educators in the future. Other interviewees were not so sure that women would fare so well, especially in light of challenges and pressures that probably will face higher education as a result of the projected declining enrollments in the late 1980s and early 1990s. And some interviewees were skeptical about whether women would, anytime in the near future, be able to compete on equal ground with men for administrative positions.

Among the interviewees who predicted that the imbalance between the proportions of women studying communications and women teaching communications on the college level would change perceptibly in the coming years was a male administrator who said that the numbers would balance out almost naturally with time. Another male administrator said he expected more and more women to come into both faculty and administrative ranks in the future. The women who he thought would be most successful, he said, were those who were "not particularly self-conscious about being women, but who go ahead and do the job and don't get all bogged down in women's issues. They are the ones who make the . . . progress . . . on their own merit," he said. "They're just being very professional and good achievers, and, to me, ultimately, that is the best mode to follow."

Another male interviewee, the administrator of a large program, said he regarded sexual discrimination as largely a problem of the past, explaining, "I've seen some pretty hardened 'good old boys' in journalism change attitudes almost dramatically in the past three or four years. I think that it [sexual discrimination] is a thing of the past [primarily] because there are going to be more women than men. Men aren't going to be able to discriminate." If anything, he added, he feared women discriminating against men.

That administrator was not alone in predicting that women might dominate the communications education field in the future. "I fully expect 10 to 12 years out," another administrator of a Western program said, "that probably a majority of my colleagues are likely to be women." A third administrator who anticipated that women would make up the majority of people in communications education in the foreseeable future said, "Simple economic inevitability will eventually defeat sexual discrimination. Those organizations that have open searches, looking for talented people regardless of their sex, will win the equality battle."

One woman in a Midwestern program went much further. She wondered whether in time, if and when women were to become the dominant sex on faculties, men would feel threatened. She said she thought that the quips she had heard about how women were "going to take over this place" weren't all jokes.

One woman faculty member in a large program, however, thought it was too early to tell what would happen to the large wave of women who had recently entered communications education. "I guess I take a wait-and-see attitude," she said. On the other hand, she said, "It may be that the next generation of

women — or current doctoral students — will be heading the graduate programs, so there could be a different view toward women doctoral students than there is now."

Other interviewees were less confident about how women would fare in the future. The administrator in an Eastern program said it would be unrealistic to say that problems of sexual discrimination had been eliminated, although he earnestly hoped they had been greatly diminished. He did, however, envision the possibility of tension building in the future as a result of any decreases in enrollment that might reduce the need for faculty. "The non-tenured faculty, or the junior faculty," he said, "are always in the most vulnerable position. If the percentage of women is higher in that group than in the senior tenured faculty, then they are, I think, going to suffer. I would be concerned about them suffering in disproportionate numbers from the immutable forces of demographics between now and the mid-'90s. My understanding is that the baby boom, or echo boom, is supposed to come back in the early '90s, and enrollments will rise dramatically again. But I think that between now and then, particularly at private universities, [the situation] will be difficult."

An administrator at a Midwestern school also was concerned about pressures on junior faculty members, both male and female. "There's pressure to do more research, teach more classes, and be more productive at a time when the economic rewards aren't available, when higher education has been just holding steady or even declining," he said. "When you look at women junior faculty in particular, and the sociological pressures and crossfires in which they're caught, they face even more intense pressure."

A woman faculty member in a small program foresaw salary battles, battles that would be "harder given the difficulty of actually figuring out whether or not your salary is lower, or comparable...."

One man and one woman remarked that traditionally when women had become the dominant sex in a particular profession, the salaries in that profession had dropped. They wondered whether this might happen in communications with the large number of undergraduate women entering the industry.

The administrator of a medium-sized program warned that it would be necessary to be vigilant, otherwise sexual discrimination might reemerge as an issue. To improve the status of women in the mainstream of communications education, he said, would take an "incredible amount of continuity and just hammering away." He compared the challenge to that of "freedom of expression; you have it only as long as you fight for it. There will be a tendency to backslide unless we really keep this up."

Several of the interviewees, however, were pessimistic about many women attaining powerful positions in the field of communications education anytime in the near future. Although the caliber of women applying for faculty positions was improving, according to one woman in a Midwestern program, she thought men would continue to hold the positions of power. The male administrator of an Eastern program also saw obstacles to women's movement into top academic ranks. "We can get assistants and instructors and some associates," he said, "but at the full professor level, you sort of have to grow your own because they are impossible to bring from the marketplace. Growing your own takes 15 or 20 years."

A female faculty member in a small program agreed that one of the "major challenges of the future will be progression through the academic ranks." "The next battle will be fought over promotion to full professor," she said.

The male administrator of a Southwestern program, however, was confident that women would prevail, at least in terms of entering administration. "I don't think there is any question," he said, "that more women are going to enter administration. One reason is that there simply is developing a critical mass of women and some of the most sexually conscious males are going to find competent women they would like to have serving in administrative positions. It's going to happen."

**SUMMARY:** Most of the interviewees said they expected women to make up a large proportion of communications education faculties in the future. However, doubts were expressed about whether women would compete on an equal basis for administrative posts anytime soon. A few interviewees also expressed concerns about the health and vitality of the whole higher education enterprise if enrollments were to drop off in the coming decade as widely predicted. What effect, they wondered, would such an academic decline have on women in communications education, most of whom would have been recently hired?

## Suggestions

### *Do you have any suggestions for solving or alleviating the problems facing women in communications education?*

Suggestions from the interviewees ranged from creating or maintaining an atmosphere in the field of communications education that was receptive to the training, hiring, and rewarding of women to developing special programs to achieve these goals.

"We have to operate on a general philosophical level of being fair, being human, being equitable," the male administrator of the program at a Midwestern school said. "What's most important in the long run is taking a conscionable stance on the whole matter — that is, acknowledging that indeed there is a problem and that we want to provide a resolution in certain ways that will become institutionalized and operationalized in terms of day-to-day or year-to-year activities."

How to do this concerned most of the other interviewees. Being fair, according to one woman, meant giving more credit to women involved in women's research. The woman, who taught in a large communications program that offered a Ph.D., thought there was "a sort of taint attached by many men to women's research." Female scholars who had uncovered contributions made by women in communications or who had done research related to women in communications, she said, had not received "the credit that men have gotten for roughly comparable research." She and another woman in a small program recommended that "Women in Media" courses be incorporated into the mainstream of academic curricula.

Being fair, in the view of another female faculty member in a large program, meant communications educators becoming concerned about sexist language. "Only female faculty," she claimed, "now are concerned about sexist language in journalism." She said it was women who tried "to avoid references that are sexually or racially discriminatory, who try hard to define news so that it's non-sexist." Despite affirmative action, she went on, she did not see "much of that substance of non-discrimination in what we teach." As a result, she concluded, most journalism students were not exposed to the idea that journalists can be guilty of sexism and should work hard to avoid it.

Ensuring fairness in the communications education field would require study and vigilance, according to another of the interviewees, the male administrator of a Western program. Because equality was "the issue of our time," he said, it had to be studied carefully to make sure that discrimination was perceived when and where it existed.

Another interviewee, a woman teaching in a Western program, said accreditation teams should play an important role in maintaining a balance among men, women, and minorities on faculties. Such a balance, she said, was "part of the diversity of a university experience that students should have. . . ." She challenged accreditors to continue to monitor sexual and racial balances on communications faculties as a way of nudging departments, schools, and institutions to be fair in their hiring, promotion, and tenure decisions.

The male administrator of a Midwestern program explained that accrediting teams now paid a considerable amount of attention to the presence and position of women on communications faculties but commented that it was "distressing

how often there's a line on an on-site accrediting committee's report saying, 'This faculty has really got to do something about hiring women because there are no women.'" "But at least the accrediting groups are looking at this carefully," he added.

A number of interviewees offered recommendations designed to attract women to graduate school (particularly doctoral study), to induce those women who did complete graduate programs to teach in the field of communications, and to ensure that at least some of these female professors would be able to qualify for positions as communications education administrators. The interviewees also made suggestions aimed at helping women succeed in all three areas.

A female administrator, however, warned against going overboard in balancing the percentages. Quality was all important, she said, adding, "If Congress passed a law that said it should be 50-50, I would oppose it. I have never believed that hiring women or members of a minority, just for the numbers, has any effect. I've talked to black students, for instance, who said very strongly that they didn't want black faculty members if they were not first-class." And another female interviewee questioned the advisability of any extraordinary recruitment measures. "We're turning out more Ph.D.s than we need at the moment," she said. "It seems like there aren't that many jobs per head."

Still, many more of the interviewees were interested in seeing that women were encouraged to consider the field of communications education. Identifying women who might be potential communications educators was suggested by several of them. "We should try to identify our scholars a whole lot earlier," one female administrator said. "If we see any signs that students are pursuing information simply for its own sake, then we ought to encourage them to go for Ph.D.s." With so few women who were either faculty members or Ph.D. students, she was worried about how women were being identified as scholars among master's degree candidates and thus encouraged to go on for Ph.D.s. "We need to put successful examples of women Ph.D.s before students, especially before prospective doctoral students, as an incentive to get them into degree programs." But until professors were paid competitively with journalists and other communications professionals, she warned, it would be difficult to attract ambitious women.

Women who were pursuing graduate degrees in communications needed encouragement while they were completing their programs, several other interviewees said. Two female faculty members suggested that financial incentives were necessary to enable women to support themselves in doctoral programs. Female students, one of the two said, should be encouraged financially and morally at every turn and helped to complete their degrees as quickly as possible.

One of the female administrators made a far more ambitious proposal. "I believe there needs to be a national program of some scope with a good deal of money set aside to recruit women into graduate school and support them at a high level," she said. "There need to be specific funds set aside, perhaps foundation monies, to encourage women and to provide support, and there needs to be a kind of mentoring system or some kind of formal systematic effort to help them as they move through these programs." She thought some female graduate students got discouraged and dropped out because they didn't see a solid chance at administration or other kinds of opportunities, or viewed the trail to tenure and promotion as tortuous and unpredictable.

Several of the interviewees concerned themselves with reaching prospective communications educators in the profession. A female interviewee from a small program said, "Somewhere along the line, people need to pull out women who have been important in journalism and say, 'Hey, have you thought about teaching? Here are the things you need to do to prepare for that.'" One interviewee, who had recent professional/industry experience and was interested in encouraging reporters, editors, and those

working in mid-management to get further degrees and enter the teaching field, noted that "a lot of people don't see teaching as an option."

Other interviewees had special advice for helping women succeed after they joined communications faculties. Three of them — two men and a woman — suggested that women get involved in networking. One of the men said that networking activity should not be considered just "a trendy thing that was done in the '70s and '80s but isn't necessary anymore," adding that it would be necessary "until the numbers change." The women emphasized that a network should include industry and faculty people in order to provide both role models and professional contacts.

The administrator of a medium-sized program recommended that women become more active in national organizations as well. He said that women would take national organizational activity more seriously if they knew the extent to which it could benefit them both in a scholarly sense and also in terms of administrative development.

A number of other interviewees made proposals intended to make it easier for women to become administrators. The male administrator of a Midwestern program argued that committee appointments needed to be made more fairly so that women could make themselves better qualified to become administrators. "These jobs," he said, "should go to the best people, and I think we have more and more women in the group of best people from which we can choose. We need to make sure all facets of our academic communities are fairly represented."

To prepare themselves for administrative positions, one female professor from a large program advised women not only to get committee experience but also to seek out and talk to the few female administrators there are for guidance and strategies.

Two administrators — a man and a woman — suggested instituting programs to make these kinds of conversations more feasible. The man suggested that workshops or seminars on administration be sponsored by the AEJMC Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women or else that some other special program be created specifically for women interested in administration.

In line with the latter suggestion, the female administrator said she wished she could find grant support to start an internship program so that women could be paid to work with her. "You need to be a No. 2 person somewhere first," she said.

**SUMMARY:** The interviewees made a number of suggestions for attracting women to the field of communications education and helping women succeed in communications education careers. Outstanding women students and communications professionals should be encouraged to consider teaching as a career and then supported as they work to complete their graduate programs, many of the interviewees said. Finally, after they have joined faculties, women should be helped to succeed in their jobs. Special attention, several interviewees said, should be paid to overcoming the roadblocks that have made it difficult for women to qualify for and succeed at administrative work.

## Summary

The interviewees agreed that women were playing considerably more significant roles in the field of communications education than they had a decade ago or earlier. Although often labeling them cumbersome, many pointed to affirmative action programs as having been instrumental in the change. Several, however, saw affirmative action as having worked in a roundabout way. Women had been influenced by affirmative action programs, and these women had changed the opinions of their husbands and fathers, they said.

Still, almost all the interviewees claimed that women continued to be underrepresented on communications faculties. Outstanding women communications undergraduate students and professionals in the field needed to be encouraged to enter graduate school and

prepare for careers in communications education, they said. Although they agreed that there were no formal barriers facing female graduate students, interviewees said that women often had more trouble balancing family life with their careers than men did and were sometimes affected by restrictive social and cultural pressures.

With regard to salary, promotion, and tenure — areas many of the 1983 survey respondents connected to sexual discrimination — the interviewees generally saw faculty women as having been treated fairly in recent years or else as having been the beneficiaries of special consideration. Women's beginning salaries were the same as or higher than those of comparable men, they said, and raises were being allocated with an eye toward addressing past inequities. Sometimes it did take longer for women to be promoted, several said, but that was due to problems women had in compiling the necessary credentials to support their promotion applications. Some suggested that women — either by choice or by assignment — were more heavily burdened with teaching and advising responsibilities.

As to administration, the interviewees agreed with the survey respondents that women were heavily underrepresented. A number of the interviewees said this was due to discrimination. Others said women had not been on faculties in any numbers long enough to qualify for administrative positions. A few maintained administration was not attractive to many women.

Unlike on the other issues, there was a male/female split on the question of subtle discriminatory attitudes. Most men claimed these attitudes were no longer prevalent; the women were sure they were and hastened to substantiate their claims with anecdotes.

Most interviewees saw women occupying more central positions in communications education in the future. Some even suggested that the day might come when women would be in the majority on communications faculties. Many had suggestions for addressing the problems they saw as continuing to face women in the field. Among other things, interviewees suggested that prospective female doctoral students be identified and encouraged earlier and assured financial support. Others urged women to get involved in networking. Still others suggested ways of preparing women for administrative jobs.

# VI. Conclusions and Recommendations

## Faculty Imbalance

Although communications education at the collegiate level has opened up measurably to women since Rush, Oukrop, and Ernst made their study in 1972, statistics show that the field continues to be heavily dominated by men. In 1983 only about one in six faculty members was a woman, and only 17% of these female faculty had reached the associate or full professor levels. Only a handful served as administrators. At the same time the student population was 58% female. In 1972 about two out of five students and one in 14 faculty members were female. In comparison with other disciplines in higher education in the early 1980s, communications had a smaller percentage of female faculty and a larger percentage of female students.

The male and female administrators and female faculty members interviewed for this study explained the communications education imbalance in a number of ways. Most said that only recently had women been studying communications in such large numbers so it would take some time before this influx into the field would be reflected on collegiate faculties. It took a number of years to produce a faculty member, they said, and even longer to produce an administrator. Marriage and parenthood, most said, slowed women to a greater degree than men. Still, one big difference between the 1972 and 1983 studies was that the 1983 participants were much more likely to be wives and mothers than the 1972 participants. Perhaps juggling professional and personal lives became more possible during the decade.

Despite the fact that 73% of the women surveyed for this study said they would be receptive to a promotion at another school and 48% said they would be receptive to a lateral move offer from another school, a number of the administrators complained that female faculty members were extremely difficult to recruit. Many said their schools did not have sufficient money to attract women. Retaining women was also a problem, they said.

While virtually all of the interviewees agreed that more women were needed on collegiate communciations faculties, a large number did not see any reason to strive for any sort of gender balance. Many said they believed academic qualifications should be the only real criteria for hiring. Most of those who did see merit in attempting to achieve a general balance between the sexes said it was important to have female faculty as role models for female students.

## Satisfaction Levels

Despite the imbalance, the 1983 survey conducted as part of this study showed that women faculty in the communications field were generally happy with their jobs. Some 62% of them said they were satisfied with their present academic positions and 77% said they were interested in staying at their present universities or colleges. Those respondents who were involved in both the 1972 and 1983 surveys indicated that much change had taken place from 1972 to 1983, virtually all of it positive from their points of view. Most of the 1983 respondents gave the women's movement a lot of credit for the change, but only a third of the respondents were affiliated with any of its organizations.

While the 1983 respondents were generally satisfied with their jobs as a whole, they did have a number of complaints. Large percentages did see sexual discrimination as either a minor or major

problem in connection with salary, promotion to leadership positions, promotion in rank, and tenure. Some measure of concern also was expressed over departmental decision-making, committee assignments, and travel opportunities.

The interviewees, on the other hand, were unlikely to see sexual discrimination as a factor in these areas, with the one exception of administration. In addition, many of the interviewees — especially the women — complained about subtle discriminatory attitudes against women. Male faculty members and administrators, especially older ones, often used sexist language, treated women paternalistically, or took women less seriously than men, the women claimed. Some of the female interviewees also expressed concern over the high satisfaction levels of the 1983 respondents. This optimism, they said, was not totally justified, and they worried that women might be lulled into complacency. If this were to happen, they feared that the effort to secure equality in the field for women might suffer a setback.

## Salary

In terms of salary, statistics show that women in communications education in 1983-84 earned less than men at all ranks, the gap being widest at the full professor and instructor levels. These salary gaps in the communications field, however, were narrower than those in higher education as a whole. Women's salaries in communications education also were lower than those of men with the same qualifications, indicating the possibility of discrimination as a factor in salaries.

More than two-thirds of the survey respondents saw sexual discrimination as either a minor (31%) or major (39%) problem in the area of salary decisions, and studies showed discrimination to be a factor in the American work force generally. However, the administrators and women faculty who were interviewed for this study insisted that salaries (especially at their own schools) were awarded fairly. In fact, several said that women often could command higher salaries than comparable men. The ASJMC *1983-84 Faculty/Administrator Demographic Administrative Survey*, from which the communications salary figures were compiled, suggested that the lower salaries paid to women might reflect lower levels of education and experience on the part of the women. This undoubtedly is true. However, only a total of 17% of the women included in the ASJMC survey were at the associate professor rank or higher as compared to 42% of the men. It would be expected, then, that women as a group would have lesser qualifications (education levels and years of professional and teaching experience) than men as they were much more likely to be junior faculty.

## Leadership Positions

More than two-thirds of the survey respondents associated sexual discrimination with the scarcity of female administrators in the field. Almost half said it was a *major* problem. In this area the interviewees were in general agreement with the survey respondents. Conceding that women were considerably more underrepresented as administrators than they were even as faculty members, many interviewees saw discrimination as a cause, if not the cause. Another explanation offered by a number of interviewees was that women had not been on faculties in any numbers long enough for many of them to gain the necessary experience to qualify for administrative jobs. A head count of the 1983 AEJMC directory showed that approximately 90% of American communications programs were headed by men.

## Promotion and Tenure

Slightly less than two-thirds of the survey respondents identified promotion and tenure decisions with sexual discrimination. About a third saw promotion and about a fourth saw tenure as *major* problem areas.

As in the case of salary, however, the interviewees disagreed with the survey respondents. They insisted that women were treated fairly in regard to promotion and tenure. Several interviewees did concur with the claim of many survey respondents that sometimes women had to wait longer for promotion than men did. They associated this lag with problems other than discrimination, however.

## Other Issues

More than 60% of the survey respondents said sexual discrimination was an issue in regard to committee assignments, departmental decision-making, and travel opportunities. However, much smaller percentages saw these as *major* problem areas. Several of the interviewees brought up the question of committee assignments in connection with administration. Because women were often overlooked when it came to making appointments to prestigious or powerful committees, they said, women often were not able to build as strong administrative credentials as men.

## Research Productivity

A content analysis of leading communications journals conducted as part of this study showed that women were as active as or even more active than men in publishing research articles in major communications journals, articles that were accepted or rejected without jurors knowing the identities (or genders) of the authors. Women did not differ from men in their preferences for either qualitative or quantitative methodology.

The situation was somewhat different, however, when it came to invited participation. The indication is that women constituted a smaller proportion of those invited to write book reviews or serve on editorial boards. This paralleled the finding of Rush, Oukrop, and Ernst in their 1972 study.

## The Future

Only a few of the 1984 interviewees failed to predict a much greater involvement by women in the communications education field in the future. Many pointed to the large numbers of female communications students and observed that it was inevitable that many of them would seek careers, both as faculty members and administrators.

A few of the interviewees were not so certain that this would come to pass, however. Concerned about the health of the higher education enterprise as a whole, they saw colleges and universities as beset with enrollment and other pressures and problems and wondered whether other issues would rise up to overshadow and circumscribe the effort to continue to open up the communications education field to women.

## Suggestions

Both survey respondents and interviewees offered a number of suggestions with the goal of increasing the participation level of women in the communications education field. First, in order to ensure that a non-sexist attitude pervaded the communications education field, it was recommended that discrimination be studied and monitored and everyone involved in the field be sensitized to it. Other study participants were more specific. They suggested concrete programs to recruit and support potential female faculty members, to train women for administrative jobs, and to help women succeed in their careers.

## Study Recommendations

The authors of this study agree with many of the respondents and interviewees that there is a need for formal and informal efforts to find, recruit, encourage, and help women to become professional academics and academic administrators and

to succeed at both. Communications educators of both sexes, we believe, should strive to present a positive attitude to women about teaching and administration as viable career opportunities.

In addition, we believe there is much women already in the field can do on their own to advance their careers. On their own women can (1) monitor the way they are spending their time and energy, making sure that the activities they undertake are those that will lead to the goals they are striving to achieve (promotion, tenure, etc.), (2) seek assistance and advice from colleagues on their own faculties — both male and female — on activities that would advance their careers, and (3) get involved in networking by seeking out more advanced and experienced women colleagues or administrators across the country to get in the grapevine for jobs or gather information about other academic or professional opportunities (grants, etc.).

In addition, we recommend that the work of the Committee on the Status of Women in Journalism and Mass Communication Education, formed in 1972, be continued, with research and organizational efforts being expanded so as to continue to monitor the status of women. This research should include fact-gathering to track women and men at all levels of higher education, from undergraduate education to administration. An effort also should be made to identify potential academics in communications education, paying special attention that women and members of minority groups are not overlooked. There is an especially urgent need for studies of communications educators that include both male and female participants so that male/female comparisons can be made.

Further, following up on a suggestion of one of the interviewees, we propose that a workshop or series of workshops on administration be organized and presented by the Committee on the Status of Women. We also believe it would be useful for the committee to facilitate networking by compiling and circulating a list of names of women in the communications education field who would be receptive to answering questions and giving advice to other women throughout the country.

The authors also recommend that those active in the communications education field work to ensure that the affirmative action policies established in the 1970s not be forgotten or rescinded in what may be the more conservative political climate of the mid- to late 1980s. Communications schools, departments, and programs should follow procedures that will assure fairness in matters of recruitment, hiring, promotion in rank, tenure, and promotion to administration.

In order to maintain and improve conditions for all those working in the communications education field, the authors recommend that groups and individuals from within schools and departments of journalism and mass communications as well as accrediting teams from the outside continue to monitor the hiring and rewarding of communications educators to assure equality in job accessibility, salaries, benefits, and terms of employment.

# About the Authors

**Nancy Weatherly Sharp** is an assistant professor on the faculty of the Newspaper Department of Syracuse University's S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications. A graduate of the University of Missouri, where she earned a bachelor of journalism degree, and Syracuse University, which awarded her a master of social science degree, she is a former staff writer for the Columbia, Missouri, *Daily Tribune;* the State of Missouri Historical Society's *Missouri Historical Review;* the Hayward, California, *Daily Review;* the Oakland, California, *Tribune;* and the Syracuse *Herald-Journal.* She is the editor of *The Corporation in a Changing Society* (proceedings of the 1982 Donald S. MacNaughton Symposium, New York City) and consulting editor of *U.S. Competitiveness in the World Economy* (proceedings of the 1983 Donald S. MacNaughton Symposium, Syracuse). Currently Professor Sharp is editing the proceedings of the 1985 Donald S. MacNaughton Symposium, *Informing America: Who Is Responsible for What?* and co-editing a book, *American Legislative Leaders, 1911-1982,* about state speakers of the house. The latter is under contract with Greenwood Press. Professor Sharp serves on the editorial board of the *Newspaper Research Journal.*

**Judy VanSlyke Turk** is assistant director and associate professor of public relations at the H.H. Herbert School of Journalism and Mass Communication at the University of Oklahoma. She is a graduate of Northwestern University, where she received a bachelor of science in journalism degree, and Northern Illinois University, where she received a master of arts degree in journalism. In 1985 she earned her doctoral degree in public administration at the Maxwell School of Citizenship and Public Affairs at Syracuse University, and was a member of the public relations faculty at Syracuse's S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications from 1979 to 1983. She was chairman of the Ad Hoc Committee on the Status of Women in Journalism Education of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication from 1982-83. She has worked professionally both in public relations and in the news business as a reporter/editor for The Associated Press and as a reporter for several daily newspapers. Her writing has been published in newspapers, trade journals, and research journals. She currently is completing a study of organizational communicators as part of a research team funded by the International Association of Business Communicators Foundation.

**Edna F. Einsiedel** was a full professor at Syracuse University at the time this study was conducted. She is now a professor with the Communications Studies Program at the University of Calgary in Alberta, Canada. She earned her Ph.D. in Mass Communications from Indiana University in 1975. She has published in *Journalism Quarterly, Communications Research Journal, Newspaper Research Journal* (on which she serves as editorial board member), and *Science and Public Policy* and is currently the resident social science consultant to the 1985 U.S. Department of Justice Commission on Pornography.

**Linda Schamber** is an assistant professor in the S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications at Syracuse University. She earned her bachelor's degree in education and master's degree in journalism at The Ohio State University, and is currently pursuing her doctoral degree in Information Transfer at Syracuse University. Her research interests include computer graphics, videotext, communications education, and information policy. Professor Schamber has taught graphics and writing courses at Syracuse University and The Ohio State University, and served as Visiting Professor at Ogilvy & Mather, Inc., advertising agency. She serves on computer and new technologies committees for the University and the Newhouse School, on the University Senate Affirmative Action

Committee, and as faculty adviser to the student chapter of Women in Communications, Inc. She has worked as a department editor, features writer, and copy editor on *The Virginian-Pilot* (Norfolk, Virginia), as a free-lance writer/photographer and as a typographical design consultant.

**Sharon Rountree Hollenback** is an associate professor and head of the undergraduate writing sequence in the Television, Radio, and Film Department of the S.I. Newhouse School of Public Communications at Syracuse University. She is a member of the University Senate, the all-University Honors Council, and the Board of Editors of the *Syracuse Scholar*. She has produced and written educational and instructional series for public television. She received a B.A. in History, an M.A. in American Studies, and a Ph.D. in Communications from the University of Texas at Austin.